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THE

# WORKS OF HORACE.

TRANSLATED LITERALLY INTO ENGLISH PROSE,

BY C. SMART, A.M.
OF PEMBROKE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

A New Edition,

REVISED, WITH A COPIOUS SELECTION OF NOTES,

BY

THEODORE ALOIS BUCKLEY,
B. A. OF CHRIST CHURCH.

LONDON:
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JOHN CHILDS AND SON, BUNGAY.

# PREFACE.

In the present edition of Smart's Horace, the translation has been revised wherever it seemed capable of being rendered closer and more accurate. Orelli's text has been generally followed, and a considerable number of useful annotations, selected from the best commentaries, ancient and modern, have been added. Several quotations from Hurd on the "Ars Poetica," though somewhat lengthy, have been introduced, as their admirable taste cannot but render them acceptable to readers of every class.

THEODORE ALOIS BUCKLEY,
CHRIST CHURCH.

# INTRODUCTION.

QUINTUS HORATIUS FLACCUS was born on the 8th of December, in the year 65, B. C., at Venusium, a town situated between Apulia and Lucania. Although a freedman, his father possessed competent means, and left him a comfortable patrimony on the banks of the Aufidus.

To the education of our poet the greatest attention was paid, and no means were spared to endow him with the highest gifts of mental culture. The severe Orbilius was his guide through the realms of Roman literature, for the poets of which he seems to have conceived an early distaste, preferring the more finished and less rugged beauties of the Greek originals, from whose sources he was himself destined hereafter to draw so largely, and with such distinguished success.

The life of Horace, although spent in the society of those who were most actively mixed up with public affairs, is rather a detail of every-day transactions with the ordinary world, a table-talk of private acts and feelings, than a succession of stirring political relations, exploits, and embarrassments.

Whilst engaged in the study of philosophy at Athens, a study which was hereafter to form the ground-work of his literary fame, the assassination of Julius Cæsar brought on the crisis between the contending interests of Rome. Horace joined the republican party, and attained the rank of a military tribune under Brutus. In whatever light we regard his flight at the subsequent battle of Philippi, it is certain that

the disgrace was shared but by too many upon that day, in which the Romans lost their last hopes of freedom, and exchanged public virtue for private luxury and refinement.

With the probability that his small possessions, like those of Virgil, were confiscated to remunerate a soldiery who had fought against their own countrymen, we may fairly suppose that this misfortune first tended to develope the poetical genius of Horace, and that his necessities became a powerful motive for the exertion of talents which had been chastened and ripened by every advantage afforded by the times. Gradually his powers of wit and repartee, aided perhaps by the propitiatory oblation of little poems "upon occasion," increased his friendships with the great, and introduced him to the intimacy of Mæcenas. A friendship of the firmest kind sprang up from what was at first but a distant and patronizing courtesy, and Horace, like Virgil, henceforth became the constant friend and associate of Mæcenas, whom he accompanied upon the most confidential missions. About the year 37 B. C., (for the date is very uncertain,[1]) Horace followed his patron to Brundusium, where, in company with Cocceius Nerva and Capito, he was engaged in negotiating a reconciliation between Antony and Augustus. A most amusing description of "travellers' miseries," in the fifth Satire of the first Book, commemorates this event, and gives an entertaining picture of the domestic habits of the wealthier classes at Rome during the Augustan age. In accompanying Mæcenas in the war against Sextus Pompey, a storm arose, and our poet narrowly escaped being drowned in the Gulf of Velia. Nevertheless, he volunteered himself as his companion in the expedition that ended with the decisive battle of Actium, an offer which Mæcenas, probably out of tenderness to the health of his friend, declined to accept.

Mæcenas was not a mere complimentary friend, but one of tried liberality. To his kindness our poet was indebted for

[1] See Dunlop, Lit. Rom. vol. iii. p. 201, note.

his villa at Tibur, and to his intercession with Augustus, for a grant of land in the Sabine district. The emperor even offered him the appointment of private secretary to himself, but he declined this honour, as it would have separated him from the frequent society of Mæcenas. Augustus bore this refusal in good part, and even personally encouraged our poet to further literary exertions.

Alternating between his dwelling on the then healthy Esquiline hill at Rome, and the quieter and more congenial retirement of his villa at Præneste, Horace lived a life of Epicurean enjoyment, not wholly untainted with the vices of the times, but yielding to them rather with the carelessness of a wit, than with the wantonness of a voluptuary. His mode of living at home was simple and unostentatious, but he was by no means insensible to the pleasures of the table, especially in society. He was a kind and indulgent master, and a faithful friend. In fact, an unruffled amiability, relieved by a keen and well-expressed perception of other men's follies, seems to have been the leading feature in our author's conduct, and the guiding principle of his writings. The beautiful compliment paid to the memory of his father,[2] is unsurpassed either as a description of what education ought to be, or as a grateful tribute of filial affection.

At the age of fifty-seven, in the year 8, B. C., Horace died suddenly at Rome, having nominated Augustus as his heir. Mæcenas died about the same time, almost fulfilling the melancholy prediction of his poet friend, though it is uncertain which first departed from life. In death they were scarcely separated, the remains of Horace being deposited near those of Mæcenas, on the Esquiline hill.

The popularity of Horace, as a writer, is, perhaps, unexampled. Read, recited, and quoted in his own time by all classes, throughout the cheerless period of superstition and

[2] Satire i. 6.

analytical dulness which oppressed the middle ages, he was one of the few bright spirits, in whose jokes and geniality the Schoolman might forget even his Latin Aristotle. His works became a constant source of delight and imitation to almost all subsequent poets, especially those of Italy, while commentary upon commentary began to point out beauties, and clear away difficulties. His manifold imitations of the Greeks, especially in the lyrical portion of his works, his pungent and well-defined sketches of society and manners, his nice perception of the refinements of archæology and criticism, all in turn began to call forth illustration. Yet much still remains unexplained. As with Aristophanes, so with Horace, we continually lack knowledge of the running current of fashionable foibles and conventionalities, the happy delineation of which constitute the essence of comedy and satire. Nevertheless, imitations in every language, in none more abundantly than our own, attest the masterly power of Horace to interest all mankind, and show the connexion that, despite accidental variations, one age has with the development, one race with the sympathies, of another.

THE FIRST BOOK

OF THE

# ODES OF HORACE.

## ODE I.

TO MÆCENAS.

MÆCENAS,[1] descended from royal ancestors, O both my protection and my darling honour! There are those, whom it delights to have collected Olympic dust in the chariot race; and [whom] the goal nicely avoided by the glowing wheels, and the noble palm, exalts, lords of the earth, to the gods.

This man, if a crowd of the capricious Quirites strive to raise him to the highest dignities; another, if he has stored up in his own granary whatsoever is swept from the Libyan threshing-floors: him who delights[2] to cut with the hoe[3] his patrimonial fields, you could never tempt, for all the wealth of Attalus, [to become] a timorous sailor and cross the Myrtoan sea in a Cyprian bark. The merchant, dreading the south-

[1] Caius Cilnius Mæcenas, who shared with Agrippa the favour and confidence of Augustus, and distinguished himself by his patronage of literary men, is said to have been descended from Elbius Volterenus, one of the Lucumones of Etruria, who fell in the battle at the lake Vadimona, A. U. C. 445. The Cilnian family were from a very early period attached to the interest of Rome, when devoted alliance was of value. ANTHON.

[2] *Gaudentem.* This word is used to denote a separate character, *him who delights:* thus, DESIDERANTEM *quod satis est.* 3 Carm. i. 25: *him who bounds his* desire by a competency. *Fulgentem imperio,* 3 C. xvi. 31, &c. ANTHON.

[3] Because most of the commentators take *sarculum* for the plough, I have followed them. But Torrentius says, that the Romans used two kinds of weeding-hooks; one, when the corn was young like grass, with which they cleft the earth, and took up the young weeds by the root; the other, when the corn was grown up, with which they cut out the strong weeds as they thought proper; for the weeds do not grow up all at the same time, and the *sarculum* being no part of the plough, it cannot be taken for it by synecdoche. WATSON.

west wind contending with the Icarian waves, commends tranquillity and the rural retirement of his village; but soon after, incapable of being taught to bear poverty, he refits his shattered vessel. There is another, who despises not cups of old Massic, taking a part from the entire day,[4] one while stretched under the green arbute, another at the placid head of some sacred stream.

The camp, and the sound of the trumpet mingled with that of the clarion, and wars detested by mothers, rejoice many.

The huntsman, unmindful of his tender spouse, remains in the cold air, whether a hart is held in view by his faithful hounds, or a Marsian boar has broken the fine-wrought toils.

Ivy, the reward of learned brows, equals me with the gods above: the cool grove, and the light dances of nymphs and satyrs, distinguish me from the crowd; if neither Euterpe withholds her pipe, nor Polyhymnia disdains to tune the Lesbian lyre. "But, if you rank me among the lyric poets, I shall tower to the stars with my exalted head."

Dedication to Augustus.

## ODE II.

### TO AUGUSTUS CÆSAR.[5]

ENOUGH of snow[6] and dreadful[7] hail has the Sire now sent

[4] Demere partem de solido die, "sine ulla dubitatione est *meridiari*, i. e. ipso meridie horam unam aut alteram dormire; quod qui faciunt, diem quodammodo frangunt et dividunt, neque eum solidum et ὁλόκληρον esse patiuntur. Varro alicubi (de R. R. 1, 2, 5) vocat *diem diffindere instiricio somno*." MURETUS.

[5] Octavianus assumed his new title of Augustus, conferred upon him at the suggestion of Munatius Plancus, on the 17th of January, (XVIII. *Cal. Febr.*) A. U. C. 727; the following night Rome was visited by a severe tempest, and an inundation of the Tiber. The present ode was written in allusion to that event. ANTHON.

[6] Of snow and dreadful hail. Turnebus, lib. vi. cap. 8, Appianus, lib. iv., and Dion, lib. xlvii., give an account of the dreadful thunder and lightning, snow and rain, that followed the murder of Julius Cæsar; that many temples were so struck down or very much damaged, which was looked upon as a presage of the horrible civil war that soon after followed. WATSON.

[7] *Diræ*, an epithet applied to any thing fearful and portentous, as "diri cometæ," Virg. Georg. i. 488. ORELLI.

upon the earth,[8] and having hurled [his thunderbolts] with his red right hand[9] against the sacred towers, he has terrified the city: he has terrified the nations, lest the grievous age of Pyrrha,[10] complaining of prodigies till then unheard of, should return, when Proteus drove all his [marine] herd to visit the lofty mountains; and the fishy race were entangled in the elm-top, which before was the frequented seat of doves; and the timorous deer swam in the overwhelming flood. We have seen the yellow Tiber,[11] with his waves forced back with violence from the Tuscan shore, proceed to demolish the monuments of king [Numa], and the temples of Vesta; while he vaunts himself the avenger of the too disconsolate Ilia, and the uxorious river, leaving his channel, overflows his left bank, notwithstanding the disapprobation of Jupiter.

Our youth, less numerous by the vices of their fathers, shall hear of the citizens having whetted that sword [against themselves], with which it had been better that the formidable Persians had fallen; they shall hear of [actual] engagements. Whom of the gods shall the people invoke to the affairs of the sinking empire? With what prayer shall the sacred virgins importune Vesta, who is now inattentive to their hymns? To whom shall Jupiter assign the task of expiating our wickedness? Do thou at length, prophetic Apollo, (we

[8] "Terris" is a Grecism for "in terras." See on Virg. Ecl. viii. 101.

[9] Horace alludes to a superstitious opinion of the ancients, who believed that thunders which portended any revolution in a state were more inflamed than any other; as they fancied that the lightnings of Jupiter were red and fiery; those of the other gods, pale and dark. CRUQ.

[10] Wife of Deucalion, king of Thessaly: in his time came the deluge or universal flood, which drowned all the world; only he and his wife got into a little shallop, which was carried to Mount Parnassus, and there stayed, the dry land first appearing there. When the flood was dried up, he consulted with the oracle of Themis, how mankind might be repaired; and was answered, If he cast his great mother's bones behind his back; whereupon he and Pyrrha his wife took stones, and cast them over their shoulders, and they became men and women. WATSON.

[11] The Tiber discharges itself into the Tuscan Sea, which being swollen by tempests, and a prodigious fall of snow and hail, (the wind at the same time blowing up the channel,) made the river flow backward (*retorquere*) against its natural course. The *Littus Etruscum* means the shores of the Tuscan Sea, into which the Tiber should naturally flow, and from whence it turned upward to its fountain-head. CRUQ.

pray thee!) come, veiling thy radiant shoulders with a cloud: or thou, if it be more agreeable to thee, smiling Venus, about whom hover the gods of mirth and love: or thou, if thou regard[13] thy neglected race and descendants, our founder Mars, whom clamour and polished helmets, and the terrible aspect of the Moorish infantry against their bloody enemy, delight, satiated at length with thy sport, alas! of too long continuance: or if thou, the winged son of gentle Maia, by changing thy figure, personate a youth[14] upon earth, submitting to be called the avenger of Cæsar; late mayest thou return to the skies, and long mayest thou joyously be present to the Roman people; nor may an untimely blast transport thee from us, offended at our crimes. Here mayest thou rather delight in magnificent triumphs,[15] and to be called father and prince: nor suffer the Parthians with impunity to make incursions, you, O Cæsar, being our general.

## ODE III.

TO THE SHIP, IN WHICH VIRGIL WAS ABOUT TO SAIL TO ATHENS.

So may the goddess who rules over Cyprus;[16] so may the bright stars, the brothers of Helen;[17] and so may the father

[13] *Respicis*, "Thou again beholdest with a favouring eye." When the gods were supposed to turn their eyes towards their worshippers, it was a sign of favour; when they averted them, of displeasure. The Greeks use ἐπιβλέπειν with the same meaning. ANTHON.

[14] Sallust calls Julius Cæsar *Adolescentulus*, when he was thirty-six years old; the same age in which Horace here calls Augustus *Juvenem*. Varro tells us this last word is derived from *Juvare*, as if this age were capable of rendering the most considerable services to the republic. SAN.

[15] Augustus, in the month of August, 725, had triumphed three days. The first, for the defeat of the Pannonians and Dalmatii; the second, for the battle of Actium; the last, for the reduction of Egypt. DAC.

[16] Venus was invoked by mariners, not only because she sprung from the ocean, but because her star was useful to navigation. CRUQ.

[17] Brothers of Helen, Castor and Pollux. Leda, wife of Tyndarus, king of Laconia, as fame goes, brought forth two eggs; out of one of them came Pollux and Helena, born immortal, begotten by Jupiter; of the other, Castor and Clytemnestra, begotten by Tyndarus: because those brothers, as

of the winds, confining all except Iapyx,[18] direct thee, O ship, who art intrusted with Virgil; my prayer is, that thou mayest land[19] him safe on the Athenian shore, and preserve the half of my soul. Surely oak[20] and threefold brass surrounded his heart, who first trusted a frail vessel to the merciless ocean, nor was afraid of the impetuous Africus contending with the northern storms, nor of the mournful Hyades,[21] nor of the rage of Notus, than whom there is not a more absolute controller of the Adriatic, either to raise or assuage its waves at pleasure. What path of death[22] did he fear, who beheld unmoved the rolling monsters of the deep; who beheld unmoved the tempestuous swelling of the sea, and the Acroceraunians[23] —ill-famed rocks!

In vain has God in his wisdom divided the countries of the earth by the separating[24] ocean, if nevertheless profane ships bound over waters not to be violated. The race of man, presumptuous enough to endure every thing, rushes on through forbidden wickedness.

The presumptuous son of Iäpetus, by an impious fraud,

long as they lived, freed the seas from pirates and robbers, they are said to have received power from Neptune, the god of the sea, of helping those who were in danger of being shipwrecked, by being turned into stars, which makes our poet invoke them under this epithet, "Lucida sidera, fratres Helenæ." WATSON.

[18] The W. N. W.

[19] With *reddas* and *serves* understand *ut*, which stands in opposition to *sic*. "Usus hic particulæ SIC in votis, precibus, obtestationibusque ita proprie explicandus: 'Uti nos a te hoc vel illud optamus, SIC, ubi nostras preces exaudieris, hoc vel illud, quod tu optas, tibi contingat.'" ORELL.

[20] In *robur* there is first the idea of sturdy oak, of which the Roman *clypeus* was made, and then, metaphorically, of strength of mind; so also in *æs triplex* there is allusion to the *Lorica*, hence the use of *circa pectus*. M'CAUL.

[21] The Hyades are a constellation in the head of the bull, whose rising and setting are frequently attended by rain, from whence the poet calls them *Tristes*. FRANCIS.

[22] What kind of death could affright him. The ancients dreaded shipwreck as the worst sort of death, as being thereby liable to be devoured by fish, dashed against rocks, or cast upon an uninhabited island. WATSON.

[23] The poet, with a very delicate flattery, calls these rocks infamous, because Augustus very narrowly escaped shipwreck on them, when he returned from the battle of Actium. FRANCIS.

[24] Active, as "genitabilis aura Favoni," Lucret. i. 11; "penetrabile fulmen," Ovid, Met. xiii. 857.

brought down fire into the world. After fire was stolen from the celestial mansions, consumption and a new train of fevers settled upon the earth, and the slow approaching necessity of death, which, till now, was remote, accelerated its pace. Dædalus essayed the empty air with wings not permitted to man. The labour of Hercules broke through Acheron. There is nothing too arduous for mortals to attempt. We aim at heaven[25] itself in our folly; neither do we suffer, by our wickedness, Jupiter to lay aside his revengeful thunderbolts.

## ODE IV.

### TO SEXTIUS.

SEVERE winter is melted away beneath the agreeable change of spring[26] and the western breeze; and engines[27] haul down the dry ships. And neither does the cattle any longer delight in the stalls, nor the ploughman in the fire-side; nor are the meadows whitened by hoary frosts. Now Cytherean Venus leads off the dance by moon-light; and the comely Graces, in conjunction with the Nymphs, shake the ground with alternate feet; while glowing Vulcan kindles the laborious forges of the Cyclops. Now it is fitting to encircle the shining head either with verdant myrtle, or with such flowers as the relaxed earth produces. Now likewise it is fitting to sacrifice to Faunus[28] in the shady groves, whether he demand a lamb, or be more pleased with a kid.[29] Pale death knocks at the cottages of the poor, and the palaces of kings, with an

[25] *Cœlum ipsum petimus.* In allusion to the fable of the giants. FRANCIS.

[26] According to Vegetius, the seas were unfit for navigation "ex die iii. Id. Novembr. usque in diem vi. Id. Mart." ORELLI.

[27] The ancients used to draw their ships on shore during winter. SAN.

[28] Faunus, he was son to Picus, father to Latinus, and the third king of the aborigines in Latium; who, because he taught the people somewhat of religion and tillage, was accounted a country god. And that rude people might be kept in awe of him, they pictured him with feet of horn, and two horns on his head. Afterwards all the gods of the woods went by this name. WATSON.

[29] This use of the ablative is common with ritual words; so, "facere," "immolare," are used. ORELLI.

impartial foot. O happy Sextius![30] the short sum total of life forbids us to form remote expectations. Presently shall darkness, and the unreal ghosts,[31] and the shadowy mansion of Pluto oppress you; where, when you shall have once arrived, you shall neither decide the dominion of the bottle by dice,[32] nor shall you admire the tender Lycidas, with whom now all the youth is inflamed, and for whom ere long the maidens will grow warm.

## ODE V.

TO PYRRHA.

WHAT dainty youth, bedewed with liquid perfumes, caresses you, Pyrrha, beneath the pleasant grot, amidst a profusion of roses? For whom do you bind your golden hair, plain in your neatness?[33] Alas! how often shall he deplore your perfidy, and the altered gods; and through inexperience be amazed at the seas, rough with blackening storms, who now credulous enjoys you all precious, and, ignorant of the faithless gale, hopes you will be always disengaged, always amiable! Wretched are those, to whom thou untried seemest fair! The sacred

[30] Lucius Sextius, or Sestius, kept up a constant friendship with Brutus, after he was routed, yet was commended by Augustus, and made consul with Cneius Calpurnius Piso, in the year after the building of the city 730. WATSON.

[31] By "the unreal manes" are meant, the shades of the departed, often made the theme of the wildest fictions of poetry. Some commentators, however, and amongst them Orellius, understand the expression in its literal sense, "the manes of whom all is fable," and suppose it to imply the disbelief of a future state. Comp. τί δὲ Πλούτων; Μῦθος; Call. Epig. xiv. 3. *Fabulæ* is the nom. plural, i. e. *Manes fabulosi, inanes.* M'CAUL.

[32] A king of wine: it was a custom among the ancients, at feasts, to choose a king, or master, to order how much each guest should drink, whom all the company were obliged to obey; he was chosen by throwing of the dice, upon whose sides were engraven or painted the images of Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Apollo, Venus, and Diana. He who threw up Venus was made king; as Horace, Book II. Ode vii. insinuates: Quem Venus dicet arbitrum bibendi." WATSON.

[33] I have borrowed Milton's happy version.

wall [of Neptune's temple] demonstrates,[34] by a votive tablet, that I have consecrated my dropping garments to the powerful god of the sea.

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## ODE VI.

### TO AGRIPPA.

You shall be described by Varius, a bird[35] of Mæonian verse, as brave, and a subduer of your enemies, whatever achievements your fierce soldiery shall have accomplished, under your command; either on ship-board[36] or on horseback. We, humble writers, O Agrippa, neither undertake these high subjects, nor the destructive wrath of inexorable Achilles, nor the voyages of the crafty[37] Ulysses, nor the cruel house of Pelops: while diffidence, and the Muse who presides over the peaceful lyre, forbid me to diminish the praises of illustrious Cæsar, and yours, through defect of genius. Who with sufficient dignity will describe Mars covered with adamantine coat of mail, or Meriones swarthy with Trojan dust, or the son of Tydeus by the favour of Pallas a match for the gods? We, whether free, or ourselves enamoured of aught, light as our wont, sing of banquets; we, of the battles of maids desperate against young fellows—with pared nails.[38]

[34] He alludes to a custom among the Romans, of offering some votive tablet or picture to the god by whose power they thought themselves preserved from shipwreck. In these pictures the storm and circumstances of their escape were represented. DAC.

[35] The term *alite* refers to a custom, in which the ancient poets often indulged, of likening themselves to the eagle and the swan: Μουσᾶν ὄρνιχες. Theocr. Id. vii. ANTHON.

[36] Agrippa gained the victory in two sea-fights. The first against Pompey's lieutenants; the second, against Pompey himself, besides the share which he had in the battle of Actium. CRUQ.

[37] Perhaps the poet intended to express Ulysses' appearing through the whole Odyssey in two characters, or, if the expression may be allowed, in a double character, such as a prince and a beggar, &c. FRANCIS.

[38] See Orelli; who regards this conclusion as merely jocular.

## ODE VII.

### TO MUNATIUS PLANCUS.

OTHER poets shall celebrate famous Rhodes, or Mitylene, or Ephesus, or the walls of Corinth, situated between two seas, or Thebes, illustrious by Bacchus, or Delphi by Apollo, or the Thessalian Tempe.[39] There are some, whose one task it is to chant in endless verse the city of spotless Pallas, and to prefer the olive culled from every side, to every other leaf. Many a one, in honour of Juno, celebrates Argos, productive of steeds, and rich Mycenæ. Neither patient Lacedæmon so much struck me, nor so much did the plain of fertile Larissa, as the house of resounding Albunea, and the precipitately rapid Anio, and the Tiburnian groves, and the orchards watered by ductile rivulets. As the clear south-wind often clears away the clouds from a lowering sky, nor teems with perpetual showers; so do you, O Plancus,[40] wisely remember to put an end to grief and the toils of life by mellow wine; whether the camp, refulgent with banners, possess you, or the dense shade of your own Tibur shall detain you. When Teucer fled from Salamis and his father, he is reported, notwithstanding, to have bound his temples, bathed in wine, with a poplar crown, thus accosting his anxious friends: "O associates and companions, we will go wherever fortune, more propitious than a father, shall carry us. Nothing is to be despaired of under Teucer's conduct, and the auspices of Teucer:[41] for the infallible Apollo has promised, that a Salamis in a new land shall render the name equivocal.[42] O gallant

[39] Tempe, a pleasant vale in Thessaly, lying between the hills Ossa, Olympus, and Pelion; the river Peneus running through the midst of it.

[40] Lucius Munatius Plancus, whose country seat was Tibur, or at least near to it, and therefore not far from Horace's country-house. WATSON.

[41] Teucer, the son of Scamander Cretensis, a king of Troy, who reigned with his father-in-law Dardanus, from whom the Trojans are called Teucri. But the Teucer meant here was the son of Telamon, an excellent archer; at his return from Troy, being banished by his father, he went to Cyprus, and built there a city, which he called Salamis, by the name of his own country. WATSON.

[42] Which shall be so like that Salamis which we have left, in glory and grandeur, that it shall be difficult to distinguish them. SAN.

heroes, and often my fellow-sufferers in greater hardships than these, now drive away your cares with wine: to-morrow we will re-visit the vast ocean."

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## ODE VIII.

### TO LYDIA.

LYDIA, I conjure thee[43] by all the powers above, to tell me why you are so intent to ruin Sybaris by inspiring him with love?[44] Why hates he the sunny plain, though inured to bear the dust and heat? Why does he neither, in military accoutrements, appear mounted among his equals; nor manage the Gallic steed with bitted reins? Why fears he to touch the yellow Tiber? Why shuns he the oil of the ring more cautiously than viper's blood? Why neither does he, who has often acquired reputation by the quoit,[45] often by the javelin having cleared the mark, any longer appear with arms all black-and-blue by martial exercises? Why is he concealed, as they say the son of the sea-goddess Thetis was, just before the mournful funerals of Troy; lest a manly habit should hurry him to slaughter, and the Lycian troops?

[43] This is the usual collocation in adjurations; first the preposition, then the individual entreated, and then the object or deity by whom the adjuration is made, and last the verb. Thus Ναὶ πρὸς σε τῆς σῆς δεξιᾶς εὐωλένου, Eurip. Hipp. 605, where Elmsley remarks, "observa syntaxin. Græcis solenne est in juramento aliquid inter Præpositionem et Casum ejus interponere." Virgil, also, has a similar collocation, Æn. iv. 314, "Per ego has lacrymas, dextramque tuam, te," &c. ANTHON.

[44] *Amando* has a passive signification, "By being beloved." As in Virgil; *Uritque videndo fœmina.* Instances of this kind are frequent in the best authors. DAC.

[45] The discus was a kind of quoit, very large and heavy, made of wood or stone, but more commonly of iron or brass. It was almost round, and somewhat thicker in the middle than at the edges. It was thrown by the sole force of the arm. SAN.

## ODE IX.

TO THALIARCHUS.

You see how Soracte[46] stands white with deep snow, nor can the labouring woods any longer support the weight, and the rivers stagnate with the sharpness of the frost. Dissolve the cold, liberally piling up billets on the hearth; and bring out, O Thaliarchus, the more generous wine, four years old, from the Sabine jar. Leave the rest to the gods, who having once laid the winds warring with the fervid ocean, neither the cypresses nor the aged ashes are moved. Avoid inquiring what may happen to-morrow; and whatever day fortune shall bestow on you, score it up[47] for gain; nor disdain, being a young fellow, pleasant loves, nor dances, as long as ill-natured hoariness keeps off from your blooming age. Now let both the Campus Martius and the public walks, and soft whispers[48] at the approach of evening be repeated at the appointed hour: now, too, the delightful laugh, the betrayer of the lurking damsel from some secret corner, and the token ravished from her arms or fingers, pretendingly tenacious of it.

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## ODE X.

TO MERCURY.

Mercury, eloquent grandson of Atlas,[49] thou who artful

[46] Soracte, a hill in Italy, in the country of the Sabines, consecrated to Apollo; which now is called St. Sylvester's Mount, because a pope of that name hid himself in a cave there, when Maxentius raised a sore persecution against the Christians. Watson.

[47] *Appone.* *Ponere* and *apponere* were terms used in arithmetic by the Romans. Dac.

[48] *Susurri.* This word is formed by the figure *onomatopœia*, from an imitation of the sound in whispering, as in Greek, ψιθυρίζειν, in Italian, *bisbiglio*, and in French, *chucheter*. Dac.

[49] Atlas, king of Mauritania, and brother to Prometheus; he was turned by Perseus into a mountain, whose top was so high, that it reached to heaven, and is said to bear heaven up. Watson.

didst form the savage manners of the early race of men by oratory, and the institution of the graceful Palæstra: I will celebrate thee, messenger of Jupiter and the other gods, and parent of the curved lyre; ingenious to conceal whatever thou hast a mind to, in jocose theft. While Apollo, with angry voice, threatened you, then but a boy, unless you would restore the oxen, previously driven away by your fraud, he laughed, [when he found himself] deprived of his quiver [also]. Moreover, the wealthy Priam too, on his departure from Ilium, under your guidance deceived the proud sons of Atreus,[50] and the Thessalian watch-lights, and the camp inveterate against Troy. You settle the souls of good men in blissful regions, and drive together the airy crowd with your golden rod,[51] acceptable both to the supernal and infernal gods.

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## ODE XI.

### TO LEUCONOE.

INQUIRE not, Leuconoe, (it is not fitting you should know,) how long a term of life the gods have granted to you or to me: neither consult the Chaldean[52] calculations. How much better is it[53] to bear with patience whatever shall happen!

[50] Menelaus, the son of Atreus and Aerope, brother of Agamemnon, and king of Lacedæmonia, who (when Paris had stolen away his wife Helen) called together all the princes of Greece to take revenge on the Trojans for this fact, and to fetch her home again. Accordingly they met, and made up a fleet of a thousand ships, lifting themselves under the conduct of Agamemnon, as commander-in-chief; and vowing never to return home till they had sacked Troy, which cost them ten years' pains, and that to little purpose, till at length, more by deceit than valour, they won and ruined the city. WATSON.

[51] Golden rod or tipstaff. With this he conducted the good to happiness; but it was *ferrea virga*, an iron rod, with which he compelled the wicked men to Pluto's dominions: he calls it the terrible rod, Ode xxiv. "Non sanguis redeat vanæ imagini, quam semel Mercurius horrida virga compulerit nigro gregi." WATSON.

[52] The Babylonians were infatuated with judicial astrology, and made use of astronomical tables to calculate the fortunate or unfortunate days of life. These tables the poet calls Numeros. FRANCIS.

[53] The construction is remarkable, "ut melius est, quanto melius est

Whether Jupiter have granted us more winters, or [this as] the last, which now breaks the Etrurian waves against the opposing rocks. Be wise; rack off[54] your wines, and abridge your hopes [in proportion] to the shortness of your life. While we are conversing, envious age has been flying; seize the present day, not giving the least credit to the succeeding one.

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## ODE XII.

### TO AUGUSTUS.

WHAT man, what hero, O Clio, do you undertake to celebrate on the harp, or the shrill pipe? What god? Whose name shall the sportive echo resound, either in the shady borders of Helicon,[55] or on the top of Pindus,[56] or on cold Hæmus?[57] Whence the woods followed promiscuously the tuneful Orpheus, who by his maternal art[58] retarded the rapid courses of rivers, and the fleet winds; and was so sweetly persuasive, that he drew along the listening oaks with his harmonious strings. But what can I sing prior to the usual praises of the Sire, who governs the affairs of men and gods; who [governs] the sea, the earth, and the whole world with the vicissitudes of seasons? Whence nothing is produced greater than him; nothing springs either like him, or even in a second degree to him: nevertheless, Pallas has acquired those honours, which are next after him.

pati quicquid erit!" How much better is it to bear whatsoever shall happen, than to depend upon the idle predictions of astrologers! SAN.

[54] *Vina liques.* The ancients used to filter their wines, to render them more soft and smooth. CRUQ.

[55] Helicon, a hill of Bœotia near Thebes, now called Zagaya, consecrated to Apollo and the Muses. WATSON.

[56] Pindus, a mountain of Arcadia, running with a long ridge into Thessaly and Macedonia, sacred also to the nine Muses. WATSON.

[57] Hæmus, the greatest mountain of Thrace, dividing it from the lower Mysia: it hath divers names by the inhabitants through which it passes; by the Turks it is called Balkan, by the Sclavonians Cumo. WATSON.

[58] Maternal art, that is, the art of music, of singing with his voice, and playing upon the harp, as instructed by Calliope his mother, one of the nine Muses. WATSON.

Neither will I pass thee by in silence, O Bacchus, bold in combat; nor thee, O Virgin, who art an enemy to the savage beasts; nor thee, O Phœbus, formidable for thy unerring dart.

I will sing also of Hercules, and the sons of Leda, the one illustrious for his achievements on horseback, the other on foot; whose clear-shining[59] constellation as soon as it has shone forth to the sailors, the troubled surge falls down from the rocks, the winds cease, the clouds vanish, and the threatening waves subside in the sea—because it was their will. After these, I am in doubt whom I shall first commemorate, whether Romulus, or the peaceful reign of Numa, or the splendid ensigns of Tarquinius,[60] or the glorious death of Cato. I will celebrate, out of gratitude, with the choicest verses, Regulus,[61] and the Scauri, and Paulus, prodigal of his mighty soul, when Carthage conquered, and Fabricius.[62]

Severe poverty, and an hereditary farm, with a dwelling suited to it, formed this hero useful in war; as it did also Curius[63] with his rough locks, and Camillus.[64] The fame of Marcellus[65] increases, as a tree does in the insensible progress

[59] "Lucida atque simul cœlo serenitatem reducens," ut Od. i. 7, 13; *albus notus*. ORELLI.

[60] Tarquinius Priscus, the fifth king of Rome, the son of Demaratus, a Corinthian, but born at Tarquinium in Etruria, and called Lucumo, till by the persuasion of his wife Tanaquil, an ambitious woman, and skilful in augury and other kinds of divination, to which the Etrurians were very much addicted, he came to Rome, where by his money and good address he grew popular, and so insinuated himself into the favour of Ancus Martius, that when he died he left him guardian to his children, whom he defrauded, usurping the kingdom. WATSON.

[61] Marcus Attilius Regulus, a consul of Rome in the first Punic war, in the year of the city 420, a great example of strict honour in observing his engagements even with enemies. WATSON.

[62] Fabricius, the name of a Roman family, of which this Caius Fabricius Luscinus was a consul, who conquered Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, the best soldier of his time. WATSON.

[63] Curius, a nobleman of Rome, surnamed Dentatus; he was thrice consul, and was noted for his courage, singular honesty, and frugality. WATSON.

[64] Camillus, a noble Roman; he, though banished from Rome, out of love to the welfare of his distressed country, saved Rome from its final ruin by the Gauls. WATSON.

[65] Marcellus is a diminutive from Marcus, Marculus, Marcellus: there were several Roman knights of this name. Claudius Marcellus is meant here, a valiant commander, called Ensis Romanorum, the Roman sword, who first proved it was not impossible to conquer Hannibal, as Victor expresseth it After a long siege he took Syracuse. WATSON.

of time. But the Julian constellation shines amidst them all, as the moon among the smaller stars. O thou son of Saturn, author and preserver of the human race, the protection of Cæsar is committed to thy charge by the Fates: thou shalt reign supreme, with Cæsar for thy second. Whether he shall subdue with a just victory the Parthians making inroads upon Italy, or shall render subject the Seres and Indians on the Eastern coasts: he shall rule the wide world with equity, in subordination to thee. Thou shalt shake Olympus with thy tremendous car; thou shalt hurl thy hostile thunderbolts against the polluted[66] groves.

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## ODE XIII.

TO LYDIA.

O LYDIA, when you commend Telephus's rosy neck, and the waxen arms of Telephus, alas! my inflamed liver swells with bile difficult to be repressed. Then neither is my mind firm,[67] nor does my colour maintain a certain situation: and the involuntary tears glide down my cheek, proving with what lingering flames I am inwardly consumed. I am on fire, whether quarrels rendered immoderate by wine have stained your fair shoulders; or whether the youth, in his fury, has impressed with his teeth a memorial on your lips. If you will give due attention to my advice, never expect that he will be constant, who inhumanly wounds those sweet kisses, which Venus has imbued with the fifth part of all[68] her nectar. O thrice and

[66] "*Castus* is a religious epithet. Thus Festus has *castum Cereris* for *sacrum*. These woods, therefore, were polluted by incest or homicide, for such only, according to Acro, were stricken by lightning." ORELLI.

[67] "The plural is here employed as equivalent to the double *manet*." ANTHON.

[68] "Each god," observes Porson, "was supposed to have a given quantity of nectar at disposal; and to bestow the fifth, or the tenth part of this on any individual was a special favour." The common, but incorrect, interpretation of *quinta parte* is, "with the quintessence." ANTHON. Yet the common opinion appears to be the correct one. The allusion is to the fifth essence of the Pythagoreans, i. e. the æther. The schoolmen of the fifteenth century revived the term "*quinta essentia*

more than thrice happy those, whom an indissoluble connexion binds together; and whose love, undivided by impious complainings, does not separate them sooner than the last day!

## ODE XIV.[69]

TO THE ROMAN STATE.

O SHIP, new waves will bear you back again to sea. O what are you doing? Bravely seize the port. Do you not perceive, that your sides are destitute of oars, and your mast wounded by the violent south-wind, and your main-yards groan, and your keel[70] can scarcely support the impetuosity of the waves, without the help of cordage? You have not entire sails; nor gods,[71] whom you may again invoke, pressed with distress: notwithstanding you are made of the pines of Pontus,[72] and, as the daughter of an illustrious wood, boast your race, and a fame now of no service to you. The timorous sailor has no dependence on a painted stern.[73] Look to yourself, unless

(*quintessenz*)," using the word to denote the most subtle flavours and refined essences. For *quinta*, *quanta* was proposed by Ramirez de Prado, and received by Scaliger and Pine. M'CAUL.

[69] In the year 725 U. C. Augustus consulted his favourites, Mæcenas and Agrippa, whether he should resign the sovereign authority. We have in Dion a speech of Mæcenas upon that occasion, in which the allegory of a ship and the republic is so strongly maintained, and hath something so extremely like this ode, that probably the poet took his design from thence, as a compliment to his illustrious patron.

In the year 727 Augustus began his seventh consulship, with a request to the senate that they would discharge him from an office which his infirmities could no longer support. In the interval of these two events, (the consultation of Octavius with his favourites, and his declaration to the senate,) Horace wrote this ode, in which he endeavours to persuade the Romans not to suffer that prince to abandon the government of the empire. SAN.

[70] "Of one ship, as *limina*, *tecta*, are often used of one house. So *Dulichias rates* is used by Virg. Ecl. vi. 76, for the one ship of Ulysses." ORELLI.

[71] These were the gods whose statues were placed on the stern of the ship, which, being broken by tempests, had lost its tutelary divinities.

[72] A Pontic pine tree. "Ex familia in Ponto," of a family in Pontus, a country in Asia Minor, where Horace's father was born. WATSON.

[73] Besides the statues of the gods, the sterns of their ships were adorned with paintings and other ornaments, which the Greeks called in general Acrostolia, and the Latins Aplustria. DAC.

you are destined to be the sport of the winds. O thou, so lately my trouble and fatigue,[74] but now an object of tenderness and solicitude, mayest thou escape those dangerous seas, which flow among the shining Cyclades.[75]

## ODE XV.[76]

### TO PARIS.

WHEN the perfidious shepherd[77] (Paris) carried off by sea in Trojan ships his hostess Helen, Nereus[78] suppressed the swift

[74] The poet expresses by *solicitum tædium* that sorrow and anxiety which he felt, when he was engaged in the party of Brutus. TORR.

[75] Cyclades, isles in the Ægean Sea: they are in number fifty-three, and are now called, Isole del Archipelago. WATSON.

[76] In the year 722 U. C. Antony set sail, with a numerous fleet, from Egypt to Peloponnesus, intending to pass over into Italy with Cleopatra, and make his country the scene of a second civil war. Inflamed with a violent passion for that princess, aspiring to nothing less than making her mistress of the universe, and supported by the forces of the East, he declared war against Octavius. Horace therefore, in a noble and poetical allegory, represents to Antony the fatal effects of such conduct, by proposing to him the example of Paris, and the ruinous consequences which attended his passion for Helen.

We are assured by Torrentius, that the best and most ancient manuscript which he had seen gave this title to the Ode, "Ad Alexandrum Paridem, sub cujus personâ exponit imminentia bella;" from whence it appears that the allegorical manner of explaining it, is at least of an ancient date. SAN.

[77] The treacherous shepherd, Paris, otherwise called Alexander, the son of Priam and Hecuba, king and queen of Troy. Once upon a time there fell out a controversy betwixt Juno, Pallas, and Venus, about a golden apple that the goddess Discord had given them at Peleus' wedding, on which it was written, "Let it be given to the fairest:" They could not agree among themselves, but every one thought herself the fairest. At last they made Paris judge; and when he had seen them naked, (but they offered him bribes besides; Venus, that if he would judge it to her, he should have the most beautiful woman in the world; Juno promised him a kingdom; Pallas, the excellency of wisdom,) he adjudged it to Venus. After this he came to be owned at court, and after some time, pretending business, he took ship for Greece, where he became acquainted with Helen, the famed beauty of that country, and, in the absence of her husband, carried her home with him; which proved the occasion of making good the former dream of Hecuba, and setting all Troy in flames. WATSON.

[78] Nereus, a god of the sea, the son of Oceanus and Tethys, and father of the Nereides. Orpheus calls him the most ancient of the gods, whence

winds in an unpleasant calm, that he might sing[79] the dire fates. "With unlucky omen art thou conveying home her, whom Greece with a numerous army shall demand back again, having entered into a confederacy to dissolve your nuptials, and the ancient kingdom of Priam. Alas! what sweat to horses, what to men, is just at hand! What a destruction art thou preparing for the Trojan nation! Even now Pallas is fitting her helmet, and her shield, and her chariot, and her fury. In vain, looking fierce through the patronage of Venus, will you comb your hair, and run divisions[80] upon the effeminate lyre with songs pleasing to women. In vain will you escape the spears that disturb the nuptial bed, and the point of the Cretan dart,[81] and the din [of battle], and Ajax swift in the pursuit. Nevertheless, alas! the time will come, though late, when thou shalt defile thine adulterous hairs in the dust. Dost thou not see the son of Laërtes, fatal to thy nation, and Pylian Nestor, Salaminian Teucer, and Sthenelus[82] skilled in fight, (or if there be occasion to manage horses, no tardy

by Virgil he is called Grandævus. Nereus is also sometimes taken for the sea. WATSON.

[79] "Canere" is commonly used of uttering predictions.

[80] The expression *carmina dividere feminis*, according to Anthon, means nothing more than to execute different airs for different females, in succession; but Paris would hardly do this in the presence of Helen. Orelli's view is, "that the whole piece consists of two parts, the vocal and the instrumental. The symphony of the lyre breaks (*dividit*) the continuity of the song. The song divides the symphony," i. e. you sing, and alternately play upon your amorous lyre, strains, &c. "We should, I think, construe *divides* with *carmina*, and *grata* with *feminis*, as expressive of their effeminacy. The phrase means simply to execute various soft airs upon the lyre. The word "division" in our own language, derived, of course, from the Latin *dividere*, was used in the sixteenth century, technically, for musical compositions. Thus Shakspeare, Romeo and Juliet:

> Some say the lark *makes sweet division*,
> This is not so.

Again,

> And all the while sweet music did divide
> Her looser strains with Lydian harmonies."
>
> SPENC. F. Q., *quoted by Howell.*—M'CAUL.

[81] *Calami spicula Gnossii.* It is probable, from this expression, that the Cretans, who were excellent archers, instead of arrows, made use of a kind of hard, slender, pointed reed, which grew in the sands of their island. Thus Ovid; "Nec Gortiniaco calamus levis exit ab arcu." SAN.

[82] Sthenelus, the son of Capaneus and Evadne, one of the Greek captains that was at Troy, and was also shut up in the wooden horse. WATSON.

charioteer,) pursue thee with intrepidity? Meriones[83] also shalt thou experience. Behold! the gallant son of Tydeus,[84] a better man than his father, glows to find you out: him, as a stag flies a wolf, which he has seen on the opposite side of the vale, unmindful of his pasture, shall you, effeminate, fly, grievously panting:—not such the promises you made your mistress. The fleet of the enraged Achilles shall defer for a time that day, which is to be fatal to Troy and the Trojan matrons: but, after a certain number of years, Grecian fire shall consume the Trojan palaces."

## ODE XVI.

### TO A YOUNG LADY HORACE HAD OFFENDED.

O DAUGHTER, more charming than your charming mother, put what end you please to my insulting iambics; either in the flames, or, if you choose it, in the Adriatic. Nor Cybele, nor Apollo, the dweller in the shrines,[85] so shakes the breast of his priests; Bacchus does not do it equally, nor do the Corybantes so redouble their strokes on the sharp-sounding cymbals, as direful anger; which neither the Noric sword can deter, nor the shipwrecking sea, nor dreadful fire, nor Jupiter himself rushing down with awful crash. It is reported that Prometheus was obliged to add to that original clay, [with which he formed mankind,] some ingredient taken from every animal, and that he applied the vehemence of the raging lion to the human breast. It was rage, that destroyed Thyestes with horrible perdition; and has been the final cause, that lofty cities have been entirely demolished, and that an insolent army has driven the hostile ploughshare over their walls.[86]

[83] Meriones, a brave captain, who went out of Crete to the siege of Troy. WATSON.

[84] Diomedes, king of Ætolia, the son of Tydeus and Deipyle, one of the Grecian worthies in the Trojan wars. WATSON.

[85] See Orelli. Anthon and others take "incola" as meaning, "habitans quasi in pectore."

[86] *Imprimeretque muris.* It was a custom among the Romans, to drive a plough over the walls of a city which they destroyed, to signify that the ground upon which it stood should be for ever employed in agriculture. TORR.

Compose your mind. An ardour of soul attacked me also in blooming youth, and drove me in a rage to the writing of swift-footed iambics.[87] Now I am desirous of exchanging severity for good nature, provided that you will become my friend, after my having recanted my abuse, and restore me your affections.

## ODE XVII.

### TO TYNDARIS.

THE nimble Faunus often exchanges the Lycæan[88] mountain for the pleasant Lucretilis,[89] and always defends my she-goats from the scorching summer,[90] and the rainy winds. The wandering wives of the unsavoury husband[91] seek the hidden strawberry-trees and thyme with security through the safe grove: nor do the kids dread the green lizards, or the wolves sacred to Mars; whenever, my Tyndaris, the vales and the smooth rocks of the sloping Ustica have resounded with his melodious pipe. The gods are my protectors. My piety and my muse are agreeable to the gods. Here plenty, rich with rural honours, shall flow to you, with her generous horn filled to the brim. Here, in a sequestered vale, you shall avoid the heat of the dog-star; and, on your Anacreontic harp, sing of Penelope[92] and the frail Circe[93] striving for one lover; here

[87] *Celeres iambos.* The poet calls this kind of verse swift, or rapid, because the first syllable of each foot was short, by which the cadence was quicker. SAN.

[88] Lycæus, a mountain in Arcadia, sacred to Faunus, who is the same with Pan. So Virgil, Eclog. ii. "Pan primus calamos cera conjungere plures instituit: Pan curat oves oviumque magistros." Pan, who first taught us to conjoin our reeds: Pan, who protects the sheep and their masters. WATSON.

[89] Lucretilis, a mountain in the country of the Sabines, not far from Rome, where Horace had a country-house. *Mutat Lucretilem Lycæo*, by the figure hyperbaton, which puts that first which should be last, for *Mutat Lycæum Lucretili*, he interchanges *Lycæus* for *Lucretilis*. WATSON.

[90] Literally, "wards off the summer from the goats." So Virg. Ecl. vii. 47, "solstitium pecori defendite."

[91] See note on Virg. Ecl. vii. 7.

[92] Penelope, the daughter of Icarus; the wife of Ulysses, a woman of rare chastity. WATSON.

[93] Circe, the daughter of Sol, and nymph of Perse; a sorceress, and skilful in the nature of herbs. WATSON.

you shall quaff, under the shade, cups of unintoxicating Lesbian. Nor shall the raging son of Semele enter the combat with Mars; and unsuspected you shall not fear the insolent Cyrus, lest he should savagely lay his intemperate hands on you, who are by no means a match for him; and should rend the chaplet that is platted in your hair, and your inoffensive garment.

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## ODE XVIII.

### TO VARUS.

O VARUS, you can plant no tree preferable to the sacred vine, about the mellow soil of Tibur, and the walls of Catilus. For God hath rendered every thing cross to the sober; nor do biting cares disperse any otherwise [than by the use of wine]. Who, after wine, complains of the hardships of war or of poverty? Who does not rather [celebrate] thee, Father Bacchus, and thee, comely Venus? Nevertheless, the battle of the Centaurs[94] with the Lapithæ,[95] which was fought in their cups, admonishes us not to exceed a moderate use of the gifts of Bacchus. And Bacchus himself admonishes us in his severity to the Thracians; when greedy to satisfy their lusts, they make little distinction between right and wrong. O beauteous Bacchus,[96] I will not rouse thee against thy will, nor will I hurry abroad thy [mysteries, which are] covered

[94] A people of Thessaly, near Mount Pelion, who first broke horses for war; whence it came to pass that they, being seen by other people on horseback at a distance, were supposed to be but one creature, who had the upper part like a man, and the other part of his body like a horse. WATSON.

[95] Lapithæ, a people of Thessaly, near Mount Olympus. Pirithous was their king, who having drank to excess at his wedding, the Centaurs endeavoured to ravish Hippodamia, the king's new-married queen; or, as some say, attempted to ravish the wives of the Lapithæ at the wedding, and were therefore all put to death. WATSON.

[96] The epithet *candide* is here very expressive, and refers to the unfading youth and beauty which the mythology of the Greeks and Romans assigned to the deity of wine. Compare Broukhus. ad Tibull. iii. vi. 1, and Dryden, (Ode for St. Cecilia's day,) "Bacchus, ever fair and young," and Ovid. Fast. iii. 772:

"Candida formosi venerabimur ora Lyæi." ANTHON.

with various leaves. Cease your dire cymbals, together with your Phrygian horn, whose followers are blind Self-love and Arrogance, holding up too high her empty head, and the Faith communicative of secrets, and more transparent than glass.

## ODE XIX.

### TO GLYCERA.

THE cruel mother of the Cupids, and the son of the Theban Semele, and lascivious ease, command me to give back my mind to its deserted loves. The splendour of Glycera, shining brighter than the Parian marble, inflames me: her agreeable petulance, and her countenance, too unsteady to be beheld, inflame me. Venus, rushing on me with her whole force, has quitted Cyprus; and suffers me not to sing of the Scythians,[97] and the Parthian,[98] furious when his horse is turned for flight, or any subject which is not to the present purpose. Here, slaves, place me a live turf; here, place me vervains and frankincense, with a flagon of two-year-old wine. She will approach more propitious, after a victim has been sacrificed.

## ODE XX.

### TO MÆCENAS.

MY dear knight Mæcenas, you shall drink [at my house] ignoble Sabine wine in sober cups, which I myself sealed up in the Grecian cask,[99] stored at the time, when so loud an ap-

[97] Scythia was a large country, now called Tartary, divided into the Asiatic and European. WATSON.

[98] Parthian. Parthia, a country in Asia, lying between Media and Carmania, and the Hyrcanian Sea. The Parthians fought with bows and arrows, and that flying; so that by turning about their horses, they shot and wounded the enemy who was pursuing them. WATSON.

[99] When the ancients filled their casks, they closed them with wax, pitch, gum, or plaster, and although the Sabine wine was by no means worthy of so much care, yet as Mæcenas at that time had received some remarkable applause in the theatre, the poet preserved on his vessels the remembrance of a day so glorious to his patron. SAN.

plause was given to you in the amphitheatre,[100] that the banks of your ancestral river,[1] together with the cheerful echo of the Vatican mountain, returned your praises. You, [when you are at home,] will drink the Cæcuban,[2] and the grape which is squeezed in the Calenian press: but neither the Falernian vines, nor the Formian[3] hills, season my cups.

## ODE XXI.

### ON DIANA AND APOLLO.

Ye tender virgins,[4] sing Diana; ye boys, sing Apollo with his unshorn hair, and Latona passionately beloved by the supreme Jupiter. Ye (virgins), praise her that rejoices in the rivers, and the thick groves, which project either from the cold Algidus, or the gloomy woods of Erymanthus, or the green Cragus. Ye boys, extol with equal praises Apollo's Delos, and his shoulder adorned with a quiver, and with his brother Mercury's lyre. He, moved by your intercession, shall drive away calamitous war, and miserable famine, and the plague from the Roman people and their sovereign Cæsar, to the Persians and the Britons.

[100] It is probable, from the 17th Ode of the second Book, that this applause was to congratulate Mæcenas for his escaping some accidental danger; and as the ancients were used to mark the age of their wines by the names of the consuls, or by the most extraordinary event of the year, the poet had chosen this instance of the glory and good fortune of his patron, for the date of his wine. San.

[1] *Paterni fluminis.* It seems as if Horace could not find a more glorious epithet for the Tiber than this, which calls it the river of Mæcenas's ancestors, who came originally from Etruria, where the Tiber has its source. San.

[2] Cæcubum, a town in Campania, not far from Caieta. The wine produced there was much esteemed. Watson.

[3] Mount Formianum, near the city Formiæ, the seat of the Læstrygones, now swallowed up by the sea, and called Golfo di Gaietta. The wine of this place was much valued. Watson.

[4] In the celebration of the festival of Bacchus a select number of virgins, of honourable families, called *κανηφόροι, κισσοφόροι, κιστοφόροι,* carried small baskets of gold, in which were concealed, beneath vine, ivy, and other leaves, certain sacred mysterious things, which were not to be exposed to the eyes of the profane. Anthon.

## ODE XXII.

TO ARISTIUS FUSCUS.[5]

THE man of upright life and pure from wickedness, O Fuscus, has no need of the Moorish javelins or bow, or quiver loaded with poisoned darts. Whether he is about to make his journey through the sultry Syrtes,[6] or the inhospitable Caucasus,[7] or those places which Hydaspes,[8] celebrated in story, washes. For lately, as I was singing my Lalage, and wandered beyond my usual bounds, devoid of care, a wolf in the Sabine wood fled from me, though I was unarmed:[9] such a monster, as neither the warlike Apulia nourishes in its extensive woods, nor the land of Juba,[10] the dry nurse of lions, produces. Place me in those barren plains, where no tree is refreshed by the genial air; at that part of the world, which clouds and an inclement atmosphere infest. Place me under the chariot of the

[5] Aristius Fuscus, a good man, of virtuous morals. Horace, for the most part, dedicates his poems (and writes them on a subject) suitable to the virtues and vices of those he addresses them to. So Sat. ix. Book i. "Ecce Fuscus Aristius occurrit mihi *charus*." "Behold Aristius Fuscus, dearly beloved by me, meets me." WATSON.

[6] Syrtes, two quicksands on the African shore, the greater beyond Tripoli, about four hundred miles in compass; the lesser on this side, near one hundred and ninety miles in circumference. WATSON.

[7] Through Caucasus, a high mountain in Asia, betwixt the Euxine and Caspian Seas, called also Garmas, and of later geographers, Cocas, or Cochias: it is situated about Iberia and Albania, on the north part. It is of great height, covered with snow, rocky, and full of trees. WATSON.

[8] Hydaspes, the name of two rivers in Asia; the one in Media, near the city Susa; the other in India, near the city Nysa, which he here calls fabulous, because there are several strange things storied of it, such as that it abounds with golden sands, pearls, and precious stones, &c. WATSON.

[9] "Donatus scribit Virgilium solitum dicere nullam virtutem commodiorem homini esse patientiâ, ac nullam fortunam adeo esse asperam, quam prudenter patiendo vir fortis non vincat. Proprie igitur sententia ipsum nunc consolatur Horatius." FABRIC.

[10] The land of Juba. He was king of Mauritania, who in the time of the civil war was on Pompey's side; he overthrew Curio, and, after Pompey was overcome, he joined with Scipio; but they being conquered by Cæsar, rather than he would be the matter of Cæsar's scorn and triumph, Petreius and he running at each other, were purposely slain. WATSON.

too neighbouring sun, in a land deprived of habitations; [there] will I love my sweetly-smiling, sweetly-speaking Lalage.

## ODE XXIII.

TO CHLOE.

YOU shun me, Chloe, like a fawn that is seeking its timorous mother in the pathless mountains, not without a vain dread of the breezes and the thickets: for she trembles both in her heart and knees, whether the arrival of the spring has terrified her by its rustling leaves, or the green lizards have stirred the bush. But I do not follow you, like a savage tigress, or a Gætulian lion, to tear you to pieces. Therefore, quit your mother, now that you are mature for a husband.

## ODE XXIV.

TO VIRGIL.

WHAT shame or bound can there be to our affectionate regret for so dear a person? O Melpomene,[11] on whom your father has bestowed a clear voice and the harp, teach me the mournful strains. Does then perpetual sleep oppress Quinctilius?[12] To whom when will modesty, and uncorrupt faith the sister of Justice, and undisguised truth, find any equal? He died lamented by many good men, but more lamented by none than by you, my Virgil. You, though pious, alas! in vain demand Quinctilius back from the gods, who did not lend him

[11] Melpomene, one of the muses, who first composed tragedies; and therefore Horace properly addresses himself to her for assistance in writing a funeral elegy on Quinctilius Varus. See Ode xviii. WATSON.

[12] Quinctilius. This is not Quinctilius Varus, who commanded the army in Germany under Augustus as his general, who, after his army was routed, killed himself. For that was twenty-seven years after Virgil's death, and eighteen after Horace died. But Quinctilius Varus, the poet and critic of Cremona, an intimate friend of Virgil's, who died about the tenth consulship of Augustus. WATSON.

to us on such terms. What, though you could strike the lyre, listened to by the trees, with more sweetness than the Thracian Orpheus; (yet the blood can never return to the empty shade, which Mercury, inexorable to reverse the fates, has with his dreadful Caduceus once driven to the gloomy throng.) This is hard: but what it is out of our power to amend, becomes more supportable by patience.

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## ODE XXV.

### TO LYDIA.

THE wanton youths less violently shake thy fastened windows with their redoubled knocks, nor do they rob you of your rest; and your door, which formerly moved its yielding hinges freely, now sticks lovingly to its threshold. Less and less often do you now hear: "My Lydia, dost thou sleep the live-long night while I your lover am dying?" Now you are an old woman, it will be your turn to bewail the insolence of rakes, when you are neglected in a lonely alley, while the Thracian wind[13] rages at the Interlunium:[14] when that hot desire and lust, which is wont to render furious the dams of horses, shall rage about your ulcerous liver: not without complaint, that sprightly youth rejoice rather in the verdant ivy and growing myrtle, and dedicate sapless leaves to Eurus, the companion of winter.[15]

[13] Between an old and new moon, the wind is usually most tempestuous. "Interluniorum dies tempestatibus plenos, et navigantibus quàm maximè metuendos, non solùm peritiæ ratio, sed etiam vulgi usus intelligit." DAC.

[14] Sub interlunia, μεσοσελήνῳ, "at the time which intervenes between the old and new moon." Or, in freer and more poetic language, "during the dark and stormy season when the moon has disappeared from the skies." Interlunium, "biduum illud, quo in coitu solis luna non conspicitur." ORELL.

[15] Aridas frondes hyemis sodali dedicet. The sense and interpretation of these words depend on the two former lines. Young men, says the poet, are more pleased, *magis gaudent*, with trees which are always green, such as are myrtle and ivy; but despise dry and withered leaves. BENT.

## ODE XXVI.

TO ÆLIUS LAMIA.

A FRIEND to the Muses, I will deliver up grief and fears to the wanton winds, to waft into the Cretan Sea; singularly careless, what king of a frozen region is dreaded under the pole, or what terrifies Tiridates.[16] O sweet muse, who art delighted with pure fountains, weave together the sunny flowers, weave a chaplet for my Lamia.[17] Without thee, my praises profit nothing. To render him immortal by new strains,[18] to render him immortal by the Lesbian lyre,[19] becomes both thee and thy sisters.

[16] In the year 719 U. C. the Parthians expelled Phraates for his cruelty, and set Tiridates upon the throne. In 724, Phraates was restored by the Scythians; and Tiridates, obliged to fly, carried with him the son of Phraates to Octavius, who was then in Syria. That prince, delighted with having the son of the greatest enemy of the republic in his power, carried him to Rome, and permitted Tiridates to remain in Syria; who being impatient to recover his throne, solicited Augustus for succours. In 731, Phraates sent an embassy to Rome, with an offer of restoring to Augustus the Roman eagles, which were taken in the defeat of Crassus, if he would send his son and Tiridates to him. Augustus made the report to the senate, who remitted to him the decision of the affair. He granted the ambassadors the first part of their demand, but kept Tiridates at Rome, and promised to entertain him in a manner suitable to his dignity.

This ode was written when the affair was depending, and we may judge how Tiridates must have been alarmed, while he was afraid of being sent to Phraates, from whom he could expect nothing but tortures and death. SAN.

[17] Ælius Lamia was a Roman knight, whose character is thus drawn by Cicero: "Vir summo splendore, summâ gratiâ; nullo prorsùs plùs Homine delector." DAC.

[18] When the poets intended to sing any thing extraordinary, they used to change the strings of their lyres. DAC.

However, this *changing the strings of the lyre* seems rather a poetical, metaphorical expression for the change of the subject. FRAN.

[19] Sappho, a famous poetess, inventress of the Sapphic verse, being rejected by her lover Phaon, she destroyed herself. There was a promontory in Arcadia, called Leucate, on the top of which was a little temple dedicated to Apollo. WATSON.

## ODE XXVII.

TO HIS COMPANIONS.

To quarrel over your cups, which were made for joy, is downright Thracian. Away with the barbarous custom, and protect modest Bacchus from bloody frays. How immensely disagreeable to wine and candles[20] is the sabre of the Medes! O my companions, repress your wicked vociferations, and rest quietly on bended elbow. Would you have me also take my share of stout Falernian? Let the brother of Opuntian Megilla then declare, with what wound[21] he is blest, with what dart he is dying.—What, do you refuse? I will not drink upon any other condition. Whatever kind of passion rules you, it scorches you with flames you need not be ashamed of, and you always indulge in an honourable, an ingenuous love. Come, whatever is your case, trust it to faithful ears. Ah, unhappy! in what a Charybdis art thou struggling, O youth, worthy of a better flame! What witch, what magician, with his Thessalian incantations, what deity can free you? Pegasus himself will scarcely deliver you, so entangled, from this three-fold chimæra.

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## ODE XXVIII.

ARCHYTAS.

THE [want of the] scanty present of a little sand[22] near the Mantinian shore, confines thee, O Archytas,[23] the surveyor of

[20] A sort of hendiadys,="revelries by night."

[21] i. e. by what love.

[22] *Pulveris exigui munera.* The ancients believed that the souls of those whose bodies were left unburied, were not permitted to pass over the river Styx, but wandered a hundred years on its banks. In allusion to this opinion, Horace says, "Parvo munera pulveris exigui cohibent te, retinent tuam umbram ab Elysiis campis." A little present of dust detains you; that is, you are detained from the Elysian fields for want of a little present of dust. DAC.

[23] Archytas, a philosopher of Tarentum, a noble city in the farthest part of the ancient Magna Græcia, now Tarento; it was inhabited by Spartans, under Phalantus their captain. Archytas was a great mathematician, astrologer, and geometrician, and famous for his martial

sea and earth, and of the innumerable sand: neither is it of any advantage to you, to have explored the celestial regions, and to have traversed the round world in your imagination, since thou wast to die.[24] Thus also did the father of Pelops, the guest of the gods, die; and Tithonus[25] likewise was translated to the skies, and Minos,[26] though admitted to the secrets of Jupiter; and the Tartarean regions are possessed of the son of Panthous,[27] once more sent down to the receptacle of the dead; notwithstanding, having retaken his shield[28] from the temple, he gave evidence of the Trojan times, and that he had resigned to gloomy death nothing but his sinews and skin; in your opinion, no inconsiderable judge of truth and nature. But the same night awaits all, and the road of death must once be travelled. The Furies give up some to the sport of horrible Mars: the greedy ocean is destructive to sailors: the mingled funerals of young and old are crowded together: not a single person does the cruel Proserpine[29] pass

exploits, having made his escape when Pythagoras and some of his disciples were killed; he was greatly beloved by Plato and Timæus, upon whose account he came to Italy. WATSON.

[24] This is the proper force of "moriturus." So also "moribundus" is used in Virgil.

[25] Tithonus, the son of Laomedon, who, desiring long life, was so wasted with old age, that the poets feigned him to be turned into a grasshopper: he was said to be beloved by Aurora, (on whom he begat Prince Memnon,) for that he used early rising, whereby he preserved his life long. WATSON.

[26] Minos, a king of Crete, the son of Jupiter by Europa. He first gave laws to the Cretans, and for his justice was after death made chief judge in hell; he married Pasiphaë, the daughter of Sol, and had many children by her. WATSON.

[27] Euphorbus is here meant in name, but Pythagoras in reality. This philosopher taught the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, and is said to have asserted that he himself had animated various bodies, and had been at one time Euphorbus the Trojan. To prove his identity with the son of Panthous, report made him to have gone into the temple of Juno, at, or near Mycenæ, where the shield of Euphorbus had been preserved among other offerings, and to have recognised and taken it down. ANTHON.

[28] *Clypeo refixo.* *Figere* and *refigere* are terms borrowed from the Roman law. When a law was publicly set up, and proposed to the people, they made use of the word *figere;* when they took them down, they used the terms *refigere leges.* DAC.

[29] *Proserpina fugit.* In allusion to a superstition of the ancients, who believed that no person could die, until Proserpine or Atropos had cut off a lock of their hair. This ceremony was considered as a kind of first-fruits, consecrated to Pluto. TORR.

by. The south wind, the tempestuous attendant on the setting[30] Orion, has sunk me also in the Illyrian waves. But do not thou, O sailor, malignantly grudge to give a portion of loose sand to my bones and unburied head. So, whatever the east wind shall threaten to the Italian sea, let the Venusinian woods suffer, while you are in safety; and manifold profit, from whatever port it may, come to you by favouring Jove, and Neptune, the defender of consecrated Tarentum. But if you, by chance, make light of[31] committing a crime, which will be hurtful to your innocent posterity, may just laws and haughty retribution await you. I will not be deserted with fruitless prayers; and no expiations[32] shall atone for you. Though you are in haste, you need not tarry long: after having thrice sprinkled the dust over me, you may proceed.

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## ODE XXIX.

### TO ICCIUS.

O Iccius,[33] you now covet the opulent treasures of the Arabians, and are preparing vigorous for a war against the kings of Saba,[34] hitherto unconquered,[35] and are forming chains for the formidable Mede. What barbarian virgin shall be your slave, after you have killed her betrothed husband? What boy from the court shall be made your cup-bearer, with his

[30] Which declines to its setting. The rising and setting of this constellation are usually attended with storms. Virgil calls it *aquosum* and *nimbosum*. TORR.

[31] "Parum curas, pro nihilo habes culpam hujusmodi in te admittere." ORELLI; who, however, reads the sentence interrogatively, which is more animated.

[32] *Piaculum* signifies both the crime and the sacrifice by which it was expiated. SAN.

[33] Iccius, a philosopher; he was Agrippa's procurator in Sicily, and by him presented with much land. WATSON.

[34] Sabæa, the chief city of Arabia Felix, called now Zibit, where is great store of cinnamon, cassia, frankincense, and myrrh. WATSON.

[35] *Non antè devictis.* We can understand these words only of that part of Arabia called Sabæa, for the Romans had carried their arms into other parts of Arabia under several different generals. DAC.

perfumed locks, skilled to direct the Seric arrows with his father's bow? Who will now deny that it is probable for precipitate rivers to flow back again to the high mountains, and for Tiber to change his course, since you are about to exchange the noble works of Panætius, collected from all parts, together with the whole Socratic family,[36] for Iberian armour, after you had promised better things?

## ODE XXX.

TO VENUS.

O VENUS, queen of Gnidos[37] and Paphos, neglect your favourite Cyprus, and transport yourself into the beautiful temple of Glycera, who is invoking you with abundance of frankincense. Let your glowing son hasten along with you, and the Graces with their zones loosed, and the Nymphs, and Youth possessed of little charm without you and Mercury.

## ODE XXXI.[38]

TO APOLLO.

WHAT does the poet beg from Phœbus on the dedication of his temple?[39] What does he pray for, while he pours from the flagon the first libation? Not the rich crops of fertile Sar-

[36] *Socraticum domum.* Horace calls the sect of Socrates, *Socraticum domum*, as the schools of the philosophers were called *familiæ*. DAC.

[37] Gnidus, a town in Caria, a country in Asia Minor, between Lycia and Ionia, on the side of the mountain Taurus, where Venus was worshipped. WATSON.

[38] In the year 726 U. C. Octavius dedicated to Apollo a temple and library in his palace on Mount Palatine; which having been struck with lightning, the augurs said the god demanded that it should be consecrated to him. Horace was then thirty-eight years old. DAC.

[39] "A god is said himself *to be dedicated*, to whom a new temple is consecrated. Cic. de N. D. 2, 23: *ut fides, ut mens, quas in Capitoliis dedicatas videmus.*" ORELLI.

dinia:[40] not the goodly flocks of scorched Calabria:[41] not gold, or Indian ivory: not those countries, which the still river Liris eats away with its silent streams. Let those to whom fortune has given the Calenian vineyards, prune them with a hooked knife; and let the wealthy merchant drink out of golden cups the wines procured by his Syrian merchandise, favoured by the gods themselves, inasmuch as without loss he visits three or four times a year the Atlantic Sea. Me olives support, me succories and soft mallows. O thou son of Latona,[42] grant me to enjoy my acquisitions, and to possess my health, together with an unimpaired understanding, I beseech thee; and that I may not lead a dishonourable old age, nor one bereft of the lyre.

## ODE XXXII.

### TO HIS LYRE.

We are called upon. If ever, O lyre, in idle amusement in the shade with thee, we have played any thing that may live for this year and many, come on, be responsive to a Latin ode, my dear lyre,—first tuned by a Lesbian citizen, who, fierce in war, yet amidst arms, or if he had made fast[43] to the watery shore his tossed vessel, sung Bacchus, and the Muses, and Venus, and the boy her ever-close attendant, and Lycus, lovely for his black eyes and jetty locks. O thou ornament of Apollo, charming shell, agreeable even at the banquets of

[40] Sardinia, an island of Italy, which formerly belonged to the Spaniards, but is now subject to its own king, who is of the family of Savoy. Watson.

[41] Calabria, a country in the uttermost part of Italy, which is almost an isle; it brings forth fruit twice a year, and abounds with bees and cattle. Watson.

[42] Latona, the daughter of Ceus, the son of Titan, who made war against Jupiter for ravishing his daughter; she, to fly Juno's wrath, fled to the island Ortygia, that is, Delos. Watson.

[43] *Religârat.* This verb has two significations entirely opposite, and might be construed either to set sail, or to cast anchor. The sense must here determine us to the latter meaning of the word, as the poet opposes the noise and tumult of battle to the calm and repose after a storm. San.

supreme Jove! O thou sweet alleviator of anxious toils, be propitious to me, whenever duly invoking thee!

## ODE XXXIII.

### TO ALBIUS TIBULLUS.

GRIEVE not too much, my Albius,[44] thoughtful of cruel Glycera; nor chant your mournful elegies, because, as her faith being broken, a younger man is more agreeable than you in her eyes. A love for Cyrus inflames Lycoris, distinguished for her little forehead:[45] Cyrus follows the rough Pholoë; but she-goats shall sooner be united to the Apulian wolves, than Pholoë shall commit a crime with a base adulterer. Such is the will of Venus, who delights in cruel sport, to subject to her brazen yokes persons and tempers ill suited to each other. As for myself, the slave-born Myrtale, more untractable than the Adriatic Sea that forms the Calabrian gulfs, entangled me in a pleasing chain, at the very time that a more eligible love courted my embraces.

## ODE XXXIV.

### AGAINST THE EPICUREANS.

A REMISS[46] and irregular worshipper of the gods, while I professed the errors of a senseless philosophy,[47] I am now

[44] Albius Tibullus, an eminent poet, who wrote several fine elegies, of which four books are still extant. He and Virgil died much about the same time. WATSON.

[45] *Tenui fronte.* The Greeks and Latins thought a low forehead a great beauty. "Frons brevis atque modus breviter sit naribus uncis." Mart. And Petronius in the description of Circe: "Frons minima." DAC.

[46] *Parcum Deorum cultor.* The Epicureans conformed only to the outward ceremonies of religious worship, which they thought the credulity of the people had established. This superficial kind of devotion, the poet hath expressed by the word *parcus.* SAN.

[47] In Lucret. v. 10, the doctrine of Epicurus is called wisdom κατ'

obliged to set sail back again, and to renew the course that I had deserted. For Jupiter,[48] who usually cleaves the clouds with his gleaming lightning, lately drove his thundering horses and rapid chariot through the clear serene; at which the sluggish earth, and wandering rivers; at which Styx, and the horrid seat of detested Tænarus,[49] and the utmost boundary of Atlas[50] were shaken. The Deity is able to make exchange between the highest and the lowest, and diminishes the exalted, bringing to light the obscure; rapacious fortune, with a shrill whizzing, has borne off the plume from one head, and delights in having placed it on another.

## ODE XXXV.[51]

### TO FORTUNE.

O GODDESS, who presidest over beautiful Antium;[52] thou, that art ready to exalt mortal man from the most abject state, or to convert superb triumphs into funerals! Thee the poor countryman solicits with his anxious vows; whosoever

ἐξοχήν, the perversity of whom Horace now called *insanity*. Greg. Naz. Invect. Pr. in Julian, p. 79: ἄσοφος, ἵν' οὕτως ὀνομάσω, σοφία. ORELLI.

[48] *Diespiter* signifies *Diei pater*, as *Jupiter* is put for *Jovis pater*, and *Marspiter* for *Mars pater*. SAN.

[49] Tænarus, a promontory and sea-port town of Peloponnesus, full of thick woods, where the poets feign was a descent to hell, called by Ovid Tænaria Porta, the Tænarian Gate; by Virgil, Tænariæ Fauces, the Tænarian jaws. WATSON.

[50] Atlas, a mountain in Mauritania, so high, that the top of it is said to reach to heaven, and bear it up. WATSON.

[51] The subject of this ode is perfectly noble, well designed, and well executed. The versification is flowing and harmonious, the expression bold and sublime.

In the year 719, Augustus was on his march to Britain, but was recalled by a revolt of the Dalmatians. In 727, having ended the civil wars by the defeat of Antony, he again resolved to turn his arms against that island, but was satisfied with an embassy from thence, and a promise of obedience to any conditions which he pleased to impose upon them. These conditions not being well observed, he was determined to make the Britons feel the effects of his displeasure, yet was again obliged to employ the forces of the republic in suppressing an insurrection of the Salassi, Cantabri, and Asturii. SAN.

[52] Antium, an ancient city of Italy, the capital of the Volscians, the country of Nero, and a good harbour for shipping. WATSON.

ploughs the Carpathian Sea[53] with the Bithynian[54] vessel, importunes thee, as mistress of the ocean. Thee the rough Dacian,[55] thee the wandering Scythians, and cities, and nations, and warlike Latium also, and the mothers of barbarian kings, and tyrants clad in purple, fear. Spurn not with destructive foot that column which now stands firm, nor let popular tumult rouse those, who now rest quiet, to arms,—to arms—and break the empire. Necessity, thy minister, always marches before thee, holding in her brazen hand huge spikes and wedges; nor is the unyielding clamp absent, nor the melted lead. Thee Hope reverences, and rare Fidelity, robed in a white garment; nor does she refuse to bear thee company,[56] howsoever in wrath thou change thy robe, and abandon the houses of the powerful. But the faithless crowd [of companions], and the perjured harlot draw back. Friends, too faithless to bear equally the yoke of adversity, when casks are exhausted, very dregs and all, fly off. Preserve thou Cæsar, who is meditating an expedition against the Britons, the furthest people in the world, and also the new levy of youths to be dreaded by the Eastern regions,[57] and the Red Sea. Alas! I am ashamed of our scars, and our wickedness, and of brethren. What have we, a hardened age, avoided? What have we in our impiety left unviolated? From what have our youth restrained their hands, out of reverence to the gods? What altars have they spared? O mayest thou forge anew our blunted swords on a different anvil against the Massagetæ and Arabians.

[53] The Carpathian Sea, so called from Carpathus, an isle between Rhodes and Crete, which usually retaineth its ancient name. WATSON.

[54] Bithynia, a country of Asia the Less, next to Troas, over against Thrace, and, as is supposed, planted by Thracians; whence Xenophon calls it Thracia Asiatica. WATSON.

[55] Dacia was a country of Hungary beyond the Danube.

[56] *Nec comitem abnegat*] se, ut Ter. Enn. 2, 3, 84, "facile ut eunucho probes," i. e. te. Ovid. A. A. i. 127, "Si qua repugnarat nimium comitemque negarat," se. ORELLI.

[57] *Eois timendum*. In the end of the year 727, Ælius Gallus marched with an army to succeed Cornelius in the government of Egypt, and as he wanted a fleet for his expedition against the Arabians, he ordered a number of ships to be built in the ports of the Red Sea. As this army alarmed all the countries of the East, so the Romans had the greatest expectations that it would revenge all the insults which the republic had received from the Parthians. SAN.

## ODE XXXVI.[58]

THIS is a joyful occasion to sacrifice both with incense and music of the lyre, and the votive blood of a heifer to the gods, the guardians of Numida; who, now returning in safety from the extremest part of Spain, imparts many embraces to his beloved companions, but to none more than his dear Lamia, mindful of his childhood spent under one and the same governor, and of the gown, which they changed at the same time.[59] Let not this joyful day be without a Cretan mark of distinction;[60] let us not spare the jar brought forth [from the cellar]; nor, Salian-like, let there be any cessation of feet; nor let the toping Damalis conquer Bassus in the Thracian Amystis;[61] nor let there be roses wanting to the banquet, nor the ever-green parsley, nor the short-lived lily. All the company will fix their dissolving eyes on Damalis; but she, more luxuriant than the wanton ivy, will not be separated from her new lover.

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## ODE XXXVII.[62]

TO HIS COMPANIONS.

Now, my companions, is the time to carouse, now to beat the ground with a light foot: now is the time that was to deck

[58] It is probable that this ode was written in the year 730, when Numida returned with Augustus from the war of Spain, and we may judge with how much tenderness Horace loved his friends, when he celebrated their return with sacrifices, songs, and dances. SAN.

[59] *Mutatæque simul togæ.* At the age of seventeen the Roman youth put on the *toga*, and were no longer under the tutor's power. The *toga* was a large mantle worn over the *tunica*, and different in length, colour, and ornaments, according to the fortune or profession of the wearer. SAN.

[60] *Cressâ ne careat.* As chalk was found in great abundance in Crete, the ancients used to say proverbially, *a Cretan mark*, for any mark of joy and happiness; on the contrary, their unlucky days were said to be marked with black. LAMB.

[61] *Threïcîâ Amystide.* This term is Greek, and signifies a custom among the Thracians of drinking a certain measure of wine, without closing the lips, or taking breath. LAMB.

[62] At the first announcement of the victory at Actium, Horace en-

the couch of the gods with Salian[63] dainties. Before this, it was impious to produce the old Cæcuban stored up by your ancestors; while the queen, with a contaminated gang of creatures, noisome through distemper, was preparing giddy destruction for the Capitol and the subversion of the empire, being weak enough to hope for any thing, and intoxicated with her prospering fortune. But scarcely a single ship preserved from the flames[64] bated her fury; and Cæsar brought down her mind, inflamed with Egyptian wine, to real fears, close pursuing her in her flight from Italy with his galleys, (as the hawk pursues the tender doves, or the nimble hunter the hare in the plains of snowy Æmon,) that he might throw into chains[65] this destructive monster [of a woman]; who, seeking a more generous death, neither had an effeminate dread of the sword, nor repaired with her swift ship to hidden shores. She was able also to look upon her palace, lying

courages his companions to give free reins to joy and hilarity, yet still to honour and admire the noble spirit and bold resolution of the ill-fated Cleopatra. With the true spirit of a Roman citizen he is silent of his fellow Roman, Antony. The senate, too, had not proclaimed war against *him*, but against Cleopatra, and Augustus triumphed not ostensibly over his fallen colleague in the triumvirate, but over an Egyptian queen. It was, indeed, his interest, that men should speedily forget that his former friend and relative had been, by him, forced to death, and that in the glare of victory the Romans should be flattered, not alarmed.

The tidings of the death of both were brought to Rome, in the autumn of A. U. C. 724, by M. Tullius Cicero, the son of the orator and then *Consul Suffectus;* and that this is one of the earliest lyric compositions of Horace is probable, as well from its subject as by the irregularity of its composition, such as the synalephe in v. 5, and neglect of the cæsura in vs. 5 and 14. ANTHON.

[63] The Salii were priests of Mars, instituted by Numa Pompilius, twelve in number, of the senatorial rank; their number was doubled by Tullus Hostilius. These, armed with a brazen helmet, belt, and breastplate, went through the city with a constant even pace, dancing to the sound of musical instruments. Their solemn processions were very magnificent. Hence the proverb *Dapes Saliares*, for a grand entertainment.

[64] *Ab ignibus.* The fleet of Antony, even after his flight, made such an obstinate resistance, that Augustus was obliged to send for fire from his camp to destroy it. DAC.

[65] *Daret ut catenis.* Octavius had given particular directions to Proculeius and Epaphroditus to take Cleopatra alive, that he might make himself master of her treasures, and have the glory of leading her in triumph. Justly sensible of this ignominy, she had reserved a dagger for her last extremities, and when she saw Proculeius enter, she raised it to stab herself, but he dexterously wrenched it from her. LAMB.

in ruins, with a countenance unmoved, and courageous enough to handle exasperated asps, that she might imbibe in her body the deadly poison, being more resolved by having premeditated her death: for she was a woman of such greatness of soul, as to scorn to be carried off in haughty triumph, like a private person, by rough Liburnians.[66]

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## ODE XXXVIII.

### TO HIS SERVANT.

Boy, I detest the pomp of the Persians; chaplets, which are woven with the rind of the linden, displease me; give up the search for the place where the latter rose abides. It is my particular desire, that you make no laborious addition to the plain myrtle; for myrtle is neither unbecoming you a servant, nor me, while I quaff under this mantling vine.

[66] *Sævis Liburnis.* The poet mentions those vessels, not only because they were particularly serviceable in gaining the victory, but in compliment to his patron Mæcenas, who commanded that squadron. SAN.

THE SECOND BOOK

OF THE

# ODES OF HORACE.

## ODE I.

TO ASINIUS POLLIO.

YOU are treating of the civil commotion,[1] which began from the consulship of Metellus,[2] and the causes,[3] and the errors, and the operations of the war, and the game that fortune played, and the pernicious confederacy of the chiefs, and arms stained with blood[4] not yet expiated—a work full of danger and hazard: and you are treading upon fires, hidden under deceitful ashes: let therefore the muse that presides over severe tragedy, be for a while absent from the theatres; shortly, when thou hast completed the narrative of the public

[1] Caius Asinius Pollio was a person who made a very considerable figure in the court of Augustus. As he was distinguished by his valour and conduct, he had frequently the command of the armies given him. He vanquished the Dalmatians, and triumphed over them. He was no less eminent for his learning, than for his warlike accomplishments.

[2] "From the consulship of Metellus." The narrative of Pollio, consequently, began with the formation of the government denominated (although erroneously, since it was no *magistratus*) the first triumvirate, by Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus, A. U. C. 694, in the consulship of Q. Cæcilius Metellus Celer, and L. Afranius. This may well be considered as the germ of the civil wars that ensued, and which blazed forth with fury ten years later. The Romans marked the year by the names of the consuls, and he who had most suffrages, &c. was placed first. ANTHON.

[3] *Causas*, i. e. the death of Crassus, the death of Julia, and the ambition and rivalry of Cæsar and Pompey. ORELL. The term *vitia* has here a particular reference to the rash and unwise plans of Pompey and his followers, and, also, to the mismanagement of Crassus in his expedition against the Parthians. M'CAUL.

[4] *Cruoribus*, i. e. "blood shed often and in many places:" thus αἵματα is used by the Tragedians, as Æsch. Suppl. 262:

Παλαιῶν αἱμάτων μιάσμασιν. M'CAUL.

affairs, you shall resume your great work in the tragic style of Athens,[5] O Pollio, thou excellent succour to sorrowing defendants and a consulting senate; [Pollio,] to whom the laurel produced immortal honours in the Dalmatian triumph. Even now you stun our ears with the threatening murmur of horns: now the clarions sound; now the glitter of arms affrights the flying steeds, and dazzles the sight of the riders. Now I seem to hear[6] of great commanders besmeared with glorious dust, and the whole earth subdued, except the stubborn soul of Cato.[7] Juno, and every other god propitious to the Africans, impotently went off, leaving that land unrevenged; but soon offered[8] the descendants of the conquerors, as sacrifices to the manes of Jugurtha.[9] What plain, enriched by Latin blood, bears not record, by its numerous sepulchres, of our impious battles, and of the sound of the downfal of Italy, heard even by the Medes? What pool, what rivers, are unconscious of our deplorable war? What sea have not the Daunian[10] slaughters discoloured? What shore is unstained by our blood? Do not, however, rash muse, neglecting your jocose strains, resume the task of Cæan plaintive song,[11] but rather with me seek measures of a lighter style[12] beneath some love-sequestered grotto.[13]

[5] The *cothurnus* (κοθόρνος) is here put figuratively for tragedy. 12. *Cecropio.* Equivalent to *Attico*, and alluding to Cecrops as the founder of Athens. ANTHON.

[6] On this zeugma see my notes on Æsch. Prom. 22, ed. Bohn.

[7] Cato of Utica, so remarkable for his virtue, and the strenuous opposition he made to tyranny. After the defeat of Pompey, he was shut up by Cæsar in Utica, where, rather than fall into the hands of the conqueror, and survive the ruin of his country, he slew himself. WATSON.

[8] *Rettulit inferias.* The word *rettulit* is here taken in the same sense as in the proverb *par pari referre*, and *inferias* alludes to a custom of the ancients, who sacrificed a number of prisoners upon the tombs of their generals. TOR.

[9] Jugurtha, a king of Numidia, who being engaged in war with the Romans, was taken by Sylla, and led in triumph by Marius. WATSON.

[10] i. e. Roman. cf. Od. i. 22, 13.

[11] *Ceæ retractes munera næniæ. Nænia* is a word properly signifying the song which was sung at funerals by the mourners. But by *Nænia*, in this passage, the poet intends the goddess Nænia, who presided over tears, lamentations, and funerals. DAC.

[12] Ovid, Met. 10, 150, "Cecini plectro graviore Gigantas—Nunc opus est leviore lyra." ORELLI.

[13] *Dionæo sub antro.* Although Dione was the mother of Venus, yet Venus herself is called by that name. The poet therefore invites his

## ODE II.

### TO CRISPUS SALLUSTIUS.

O CRISPUS SALLUSTIUS,[14] thou foe to bullion,[15] unless it derives splendour from a moderate enjoyment, there is no lustre in money concealed in the niggard earth. Proculeius[16] shall live an extended age, conspicuous for fatherly affection to brothers; surviving fame shall bear him on an untiring wing.[17] You may possess a more extensive dominion by controlling a craving disposition, than if you could unite Libya to the distant Gades, and the natives of both the Carthages were subject to you alone. The direful dropsy increases by self-indulgence, nor extinguishes its thirst, unless the cause of the disorder has departed from the veins, and the watery languor from the pallid body. Virtue, differing from the vulgar, excepts Phraates,[18] though restored to the throne of Cyrus, from the number of the happy; and teaches the populace to disuse false names for things, by conferring the kingdom and a safe diadem and the perpetual[19] laurel upon him alone, who can view large heaps of treasure with undazzled eye.

muse into the cave of Venus, there to sing of love and gallantry in a tone less elevated, *leviore plectro*, and forbids her to imitate the plaintive strains of Simonides. LAMB.

[14] Tacitus, in the third book of his Annals, hath given us a very finished picture of this Sallust. He was grand-nephew to the excellent author of the Roman History, who adopted him, and left him his name and fortune.

[15] The construction is: "inimice lamnæ, nisi [lamna] splendeat."

[16] Proculeius. He had two brothers, Terentius and Licinius. Terentius was made consul elect in the year seven hundred and thirty, but died before he could enter upon his office. Licinius unfortunately engaged himself in a conspiracy against Augustus, nor could all the interest of Proculeius and Mæcenas, who had married their sister Terentia, preserve him from banishment. An old commentator relates a particular story, which greatly enlightens this passage: he says, that Proculeius divided his patrimony with his brothers, whose fortunes were ruined in the civil wars. DAC. SAN.

[17] For this periphrasis cf. Od. 3, 11, 10: "metuitque tangi," Virg. ORELLI.

[18] Phraates, a king of the Parthians, who slew his own father Orodes, thirty brothers, and his eldest son. He was expelled the kingdom by his subjects, and afterwards re-established by the Scythians in the year of Rome 728. WATSON.

[19] So "propria munera," Sat. ii. 2, 5; "da propriam domum," Virg. Æn. iii. 85. ORELLI.

## ODE III.

### TO QUINTUS DELLIUS.

O DELLIUS,[20] since thou art born to die, be mindful to preserve a temper of mind even in times of difficulty, as well as restrained from insolent exultation in prosperity: whether thou shalt lead a life of continual sadness, or through happy days regale thyself with Falernian wine of the oldest date,[21] at ease reclined in some grassy retreat, where the lofty pine and hoary poplar delight to interweave their boughs into a hospitable shade, and the clear current with trembling surface purls along the meandering rivulet. Hither order [your slaves] to bring the wine, and the perfumes, and the too short-lived flowers of the grateful rose, while fortune, and age, and the sable threads of the three sisters permit thee. You must depart from your numerous purchased groves;[22] from your house also, and that villa, which the yellow Tiber washes, you must depart: and an heir shall possess these high-piled riches. It is of no consequence, whether you are the wealthy descendant of ancient Inachus, or whether, poor and of the most ignoble race, you live without a covering from the open air, since you are the victim of merciless Pluto. We are all driven towards the same quarter: the lot of all is shaken in the urn; destined sooner or later to come forth, and embark us in [Charon's] boat for eternal exile.

[20] Dellius was a true picture of inconstancy. After Cæsar's death he changed his party four times in the space of twelve years, from whence Messala used pleasantly to call him *desultorem bellorum civilium*, in allusion to a custom of the ancient cavalry, who had two horses, and vaulted from one to the other, as they were tired. The peace that succeeded the civil wars, gave him an opportunity of establishing his affairs, which naturally must have been greatly disordered by so many changes. At this time Horace wrote this ode, in which he instructs him in the purest maxims of Epicurean philosophy. SAN.

[21] "With the old Falernian," i. e. the choicest wine, which was placed in the farthest part of the vault or crypt, marked with its date and growth. *Nota.* Thus Catullus, lxviii. 28, "de meliore nota;" and Curius, ap. Cic. vii. 29, "Sulpicii successori, nos de meliore nota commenda." Some insert only a comma after *Falerni*, and thus join the succeeding strophe to this, "Sed propter meliorem totius periodi constructionem præstare videtur distinctio nostra." ORELL. M'CAUL.

[22] "Bought up on all sides." ANTHON.

## ODE IV.

### TO XANTHIAS PHOCEUS.

LET not, O Xanthias Phoceus, your passion for your maid put you out of countenance; before your time, the slave Briseïs[23] moved the haughty Achilles by her snowy complexion. The beauty of the captive Tecmessa[24] smote her master, the Telamonian Ajax; Agamemnon, in the midst of victory, burned for a ravished virgin: when the barbarian troops fell by the hands of their Thessalian conqueror, and Hector,[25] vanquished, left Troy more easy to be destroyed by the Grecians. You do not know that perchance the beautiful Phyllis has parents of condition happy enough to do honour to you their son-in-law. Certainly she must be of royal race,[26] and laments the unpropitiousness of her family-gods. Be confident, that your beloved is not of the worthless crowd; nor that one so true, so unmercenary, could possibly be born of a mother to be ashamed of. I can commend arms, and face, and well-made legs, quite chastely: avoid being jealous of one, whose age is hastening onward to bring its eighth lustrum[27] to a close.

[23] Briseïs. Her true name was Hippodamia, but she was called Briseïs, after her father Brises, the priest of Apollo. She was taken captive at Lyrnessus by the Greeks, and fell to the share of Achilles. WATSON.

[24] Tecmessa, a captive Trojan maid. WATSON.

[25] Hector, the son of Priam, the most valiant of the Trojans, who, after defending his country ten years against all the attacks of the Greeks, fell at length by the hand of Achilles, who dragged his body thrice round the walls of Troy, and afterwards sold it to his father Priam. WATSON.

[26] There is considerable irony in this stanza, "most undoubtedly she is the daughter of some Eastern monarch, assuredly she laments the severity of untoward fate." To the words *regium genus*, some commentators supply *est*, but the words are governed by *mæret*. ANTHON.

[27] A lustrum was a period of five years, so that the poet must now have been in his fortieth year, and the ode must have been composed about 729 or 730, A. U. C. The phrase *claudere lustrum* is used by Horace, purposely to avoid the regular phrase *condere lustrum*, which would be unsuited to this careless ode, and which properly refers to the sacrifice called *Suovetaurilia* or *Solitaurilia*, which *closed* the census, the review of the people taking place every lustrum, or at the end of every five years. ANTHON.

## ODE V.

NOT yet is she fit to be broken to the yoke; not yet is she equal to the duties of a partner,[28] nor can she support the weight of the bull impetuously rushing to enjoyment. Your heifer's sole inclination is about verdant fields, one while in running streams soothing the grievous heat; at another, highly delighted to frisk with the steerlings in the moist willow-ground. Suppress your appetite for the immature grape; shortly variegated autumn will tinge for thee the livid clusters with a purple hue. Shortly she shall follow you; for her impetuous time runs on, and shall place to her account those years of which it abridges you; shortly Lalage with a wanton assurance will seek a husband, beloved in a higher degree than the coy Pholoë, or even Chloris; shining as brightly with her fair shoulder, as the spotless moon upon the midnight sea, or even the Gnidian Gyges, whom if you should intermix in a company of girls, the undiscernible difference occasioned by his flowing locks and doubtful countenance would wonderfully impose even on sagacious strangers.

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## ODE VI.

### TO SEPTIMIUS.

SEPTIMIUS,[29] who art ready to go with me, even to Gades, and to the Cantabrian, still untaught to bear our yoke, and the inhospitable Syrtes, where the Mauritanian wave perpetually boils: O may Tibur, founded by a Grecian colony, be the habitation of my old age! There let there be an end to my fatigues by sea, and land, and war; whence if the cruel fates

[28] Or rather, "yoke-fellow."

[29] Septimius, a Roman knight, and lyric and tragic poet: he was one of Horace's school companions, and had been a fellow-soldier with him in the army of Brutus and Cassius, and had the good fortune also to be received into the favour of Augustus. WATSON.

debar me, I will seek the river of Galesus,[30] delightful for sheep covered with skins,[31] and the countries reigned over by Lacedæmonian Phalantus.[32] That corner of the world smiles in my eye beyond all others; where the honey yields not to the Hymettian, and the olive rivals the verdant Venafrian: where the temperature of the air produces a long spring and mild winters, and Aulon, friendly to the fruitful vine, envies not the Falernian grapes. That place, and those blest heights,[33] solicit you and me: there you shall bedew the glowing ashes of your poet friend with a tear due [to his memory].[34]

## ODE VII.

### TO POMPEIUS VARUS.

O THOU, often reduced with me to the last extremity, in the war which Brutus carried on, who has restored thee as a Roman citizen,[35] to the gods of thy country and the Italian air, Pom-

[30] Galesus, a river of Calabria, that runs into the bay of Tarentum, about five miles from the city: its waters are beautiful, and current slow; whence Horace says it is agreeable to the sheep. WATSON.

[31] *Pellitis ovibus.* The sheep of Tarentum and Attica had a wool so fine, that they were covered with skins to preserve it from the inclemency of the weather. Pliny says, these covertures were brought from Arabia. CRUQ.

[32] Alluding to the story of Phalantus and the Parthenii. Phalantus was expelled from Lacedæmon (B. C. 700) under the following circumstances: While the Spartans were absent during the Messenian wars, their ladies, either ordered, as some traditions have it, or of their own free will, elevated their slaves to the rank of temporary husbands. The offspring of these connexions, denominated the Parthenii, were expelled by the Spartans on their return, and under Phalantus, their leader, they colonized Tarentum, so called from Taras, a reputed son of Neptune. ANTHON.

[33] Cf. Virg. G. iv. 461. "Rhodopeïæ arces" = "the heights of Rhodope."

[34] *Debitâ sparges.* These words, *Cum lacrymis posuit*, are frequently found in ancient epitaphs, and in the urn a little bottle filled with tears. TORR.

[35] The name *Quiritem* here implies a full return to all the rights and privileges of citizenship, which had been forfeited by his bearing arms against the established authority of the triumvirate. ANTHON.

pey, thou first of my companions; with whom I have frequently broken the tedious day in drinking, having my hair, shining with the Syrian malobathrum, crowned [with flowers]! Together with thee did I experience the [battle of] Philippi[36] and a precipitate flight, having shamefully enough left my shield; when valour was broken, and the most daring[37] smote the squalid earth with their faces. But Mercury[38] swift conveyed me away, terrified as I was, in a thick cloud through the midst of the enemy. Thee the reciprocating sea, with his tempestuous waves, bore back again to war. Wherefore render to Jupiter the offering that is due, and deposit your limbs, wearied with a tedious war,[39] under my laurel; and spare not the casks reserved for you. Fill up the polished bowls with care-dispelling Massic: pour out the perfumed ointments from the capacious shells. Who takes care to quickly weave the chaplets of fresh parsley or myrtle? Whom shall the Venus[40]

[36] Philippi, a city of Macedonia on the borders of Thrace, famous for the overthrow of Brutus and Cassius by Augustus. WATSON.

[37] *Minaces.* After the battle of Philippi, in which Octavius was routed by Brutus, his soldiers demanded, in a mutinous manner, to be led against the enemy; they complained that they should be confined within their camp, when the forces of Octavius, broken by their late defeat, and oppressed by famine, might easily be conquered. Brutus, at last, fatally gave way to their temerity and impatience, for which the poet gives them the epithet *minaces.*

[38] Mercury. He here alludes to the fights described by Homer, where the gods surround those they are willing to save with a thick cloud, and carry them off from the fury of their enemies. This is here ascribed to Mercury, as the father of eloquence, and the protector of learned men.

[39] Five years, in a party always unfortunate, might well seem a tedious and fatiguing warfare. SAN.

[40] The ancients at their feasts appointed a person to preside by throwing the dice, whom they called *arbiter bibendi,* (συμποσιάρχης,) "master of the feast." He directed every thing at pleasure. In playing at games of chance they used three *tesseræ,* and four *tali.* The *tesseræ* had six sides, marked I. II. III. IV. V. VI. The *tali* had four sides, longwise, for the two ends were not regarded. On one side was marked one point, (*unio,* an ace, called *Canis,*) and on the opposite side six, (*Senio,*) while on the two other sides were three and four (*ternio et quaternio*). The highest or most fortunate throw was called *Venus,* and determined the director of the feast. It was, of the *tesseræ,* three sixes: of the *tali,* when all of them came out different numbers. The worst or lowest throw was termed *Canis,* and was, of the *tesseræ,* three aces; and of the *tali,* when they were all the same. ANTHON.

pronounce to be master of the revel? In wild carouse I will become frantic as the Bacchanalians. 'Tis delightful to me to play the madman, on the reception of my friend.

## ODE VIII.

TO BARINE.

If any punishment, Barine, for your violated oath had ever been of prejudice to you: if you had become less agreeable by the blackness of a single tooth or nail, I might believe you. But you no sooner have bound your perfidious head with vows, but you shine out more charming by far, and come forth the public care of our youth. It is of advantage to you to deceive the buried ashes of your mother, and the silent constellations of the night, together with all heaven, and the gods free from chill death. Venus herself, I profess, laughs at this; the good-natured nymphs laugh, and cruel Cupid, who is perpetually sharpening his burning darts on a bloody whetstone. Add to this, that all our boys are growing up for you; a new herd of slaves is growing up; nor do the former ones quit the house of their impious mistress, notwithstanding they often have threatened it. The matrons are in dread of you on account of their young ones; the thrifty old men are in dread of you; and the girls but just married are in distress, lest your beauty should slacken [the affections of] their husbands.

## ODE IX.

TO TITUS VALGIUS.

Showers do not perpetually pour down upon the rough fields, nor do varying hurricanes for ever harass the Caspian Sea; nor, my friend Valgius, does the motionless ice remain fixed throughout all the months in the regions of Armenia; nor do the Garganian oaks [always] labour under the northerly winds, nor are the ash-trees widowed of their leaves. But thou art continually pursuing Mystes, who is taken from thee, with mourn-

ful measures: nor do the effects of thy love for him cease at the rising of Vesper,[41] or when he flies the rapid approach of the sun. But the aged man who lived three generations, did not lament the amiable Antilochus all the years of his life: nor did his parents or his Trojan sisters perpetually bewail the blooming Troïlus. At length then desist from thy tender complaints; and rather let us sing the fresh[42] trophies of Augustus Cæsar, and the frozen Niphates, and the river Medus,[43] added to the vanquished nations, rolls more humble tides, and the Gelonians riding within a prescribed boundary in a narrow tract of land.

## ODE X.

### TO LICINIUS MURENA.

O LICINIUS,[44] you will lead a more correct course of life, by neither always pursuing the main ocean, nor, while you cautiously are in dread of storms, by pressing too much upon the hazardous shore. Whosoever loves the golden mean, is secure from the sordidness of an antiquated cell, and is too prudent to

[41] *Vespero.* This star was called Lucifer in the morning, and Vesper in the evening. FRAN.

[42] This expedition of Augustus was the most glorious of his whole life. He not only made the Roman name to be revered to the utmost bounds of Asia and Africa, in imposing conditions of peace upon the Indians and Æthiopians; he not only confirmed the repose of the empire, by establishing in Greece, Sicily, and Asia Minor a stable and uniform government, and ordering Armenia, Cilicia, and Arabia in favour of princes attached to the interest of the republic; but humbled the pride of the Parthians, by obliging Phraates to restore the Roman eagles and prisoners, which were taken thirty years before, and to pull down the trophies that Orodes had erected for the defeat of Crassus. To perpetuate the memory of this success, he struck a medal with this inscription, PRO SIGNIS RECEPTIS. SAN.

[43] By the river Medus, Horace means the Parthians, as he would distinguish the Armenians by Niphates. *Euphrates dictus est primùm Medus.* And probably the Tigris is here called Niphates, as it rises out of a mountain of that name. SAN.

[44] This Licinius, according to Dacier, is the same with Licinius Varro Murena, the brother of Proculeius, and Terentia, the wife of Mæcenas. He entered into a conspiracy against Augustus, with Flavius Cepio, in the year of the city 731.

have a palace that might expose him to envy. The lofty pine is more frequently agitated with winds, and high towers fall down with a heavier ruin, and lightnings strike the summits of the mountains. A well-provided breast hopes in adversity, and fears in prosperity. 'Tis the same Jupiter, that brings the hideous winters back, and that takes them away. If it is ill with us now, it will not be so hereafter. Apollo sometimes rouses the silent lyric muse, neither does he always bend his bow. In narrow circumstances appear in high spirits, and undaunted. In the same manner you will prudently contract your sails, which are apt to be too much swollen in a prosperous gale.

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## ODE XI.

### TO QUINTIUS HIRPINUS.

O QUINTIUS HIRPINUS, forbear to be inquisitive what the Cantabrian, and the Scythian, divided from us by the interposed Adriatic, is meditating; neither be fearfully solicitous for the necessaries of a life, which requires but a few things. Youth and beauty fly swift away, while sapless old age expels the wanton loves and gentle sleep. The same glory does not always remain to the vernal flowers, nor does the ruddy moon shine with one continued aspect; why, therefore, do you fatigue your mind, unequal to eternal projects? Why do we not rather (while it is in our power) thus carelessly reclining under a lofty plane-tree, or this pine, with our hoary locks made fragrant by roses, and anointed with Syrian perfume, indulge ourselves with generous wine? Bacchus dissipates preying cares. What slave is here, instantly to cool some cups of ardent Falernian in the passing stream? Who will tempt the vagrant wanton Lyde from her house? See that you bid her hasten with her ivory lyre, collecting her hair into a graceful knot, after the fashion of a Spartan maid.[45]

[45] There is much doubt about the reading and interpretation of this passage. See Orelli.

## ODE XII.

TO MÆCENAS.

Do not insist that the long wars of fierce Numantia,[46] or the formidable Annibal, or the Sicilian Sea impurpled with Carthaginian blood, should be adapted to the tender lays of the lyre: nor the cruel Lapithæ, nor Hylæus excessive in wine, and the earth-born youths, subdued by Herculean force, from whom the splendid habitation of old Saturn dreaded danger. And you yourself, Mæcenas, with more propriety shall recount the battles of Cæsar, and the necks of haughty kings led in triumph through the streets in historical prose. It was the muse's will that I should celebrate the sweet strains of my mistress Lycimnia,[47] that I should celebrate her bright-darting eyes, and her breast laudably faithful to mutual love; who can with a grace introduce her foot into the dance, or, sporting, contend[48] in raillery, or join arms with the bright virgins on the celebrated Diana's festival. Would you, [Mæcenas,] change one of Lycimnia's tresses for all the rich Achæmenes possessed, or the Mygdonian wealth of fertile Phrygia, or all the dwellings of the Arabians replete with

[46] Numantia, a city in Spain, now called Garray: with a garrison of 4000 men, it held out fourteen years against a Roman army of 40,000 men; at last, being sore pressed by Scipio, and like to perish by famine, they gathered all their goods together, and setting them on fire, they threw themselves afterwards into the flames. WATSON.

[47] Terentia, the passionately-loved wife of the jealous Mæcenas, is, doubtless, intended. When the poets wished to avoid the direct nomination of an individual, they generally coined some word corresponding in metre and number of syllables with the proper name of the person, as here Lycimnia=Terentia. Thus also Persius, "Auriculas asini Midas rex habet," where *Midas* is = *Nero*, as *Plania* is = *Delia*, in Tibullus, &c.; *Malthinus* in Serm. i. 8, is for *Mæcenas*, &c. A freed-woman could not be intended, from the expression "nec ferre pedem dedecuit choris," for none but females of the highest rank took part in these sacred dances. WHEELER. "Neque enim periculum erat, ne inter *virgines lectas* saltare cuivis fœminæ *dedecori* esset, excepta forte Livia Augusti vel Terentia Mæcenatis, vel Octavia aliave ex nobilissimis quarum infra dignitatem id esse severioribus videri potest." ORELLI.

[48] By the word *certare*, the poet alludes to a custom among the Greeks and Romans of disputing the prize of raillery on their festival days. It appears by a passage in Aristophanes, that the victors in these disputes were publicly crowned by the Greeks. DAC.

treasures? Especially when she turns her neck to meet your burning kisses, or with a gentle cruelty denies, what she would more delight to have ravished than the petitioner,—or sometimes eagerly anticipates to snatch them herself.

## ODE XIII.

### TO A TREE.

O TREE,[49] he planted thee on an unlucky day whoever did it first, and with an impious hand raised thee for the destruction of posterity, and the scandal of the village. I could believe that he had broken his own father's neck, and stained his most secret apartments with the midnight blood[50] of his guest. He was wont to handle Colchian poisons, and whatever wickedness is any where conceived, who planted in my field thee, a sorry log; thee, ready to fall on the head of thy inoffensive master. What we ought to be aware of, no man is sufficiently cautious at all hours. The Carthaginian sailor thoroughly dreads the Bosphorus; nor, beyond that, does he fear a hidden fate from any other quarter. The soldier dreads the arrows and the fleet retreat of the Parthian; the Parthian, chains and an Italian prison;[51] but the unexpected assault of death has carried off, and will carry off, the world in general. How near was I seeing the dominions of black Proserpine,[52] and Æacus[53] sitting in judgment; the separate abodes also of the pious, and Sappho complaining on her Æolian lyre of her

[49] The construction is, "ille et nefasto te pos. die, Quicunque primum posuit, et (postea) produxit sacr. manu." ORELLI.

[50] i. e. the blood of his guest, slain at midnight.

[51] The term *robur* appears to allude particularly to the well-known prison at Rome, called *Tullianum*. It was originally built by Ancus Martius, and afterwards enlarged by Servius Tullius, whence that part of it which was under ground, and built by him, received the name of *Tullianum*. ED. DUBL.

[52] Proserpine, the daughter of Jupiter and Ceres, whom Pluto stole and carried away with him out of Sicily. Horace here uses "Regna furvæ Proserpinæ," the realms of black Proserpine, instead of "furva Regna Proserpinæ," the black realms of Proserpine. WATSON.

[53] Æacus was the son of Jupiter and Ægina, and father of Peleus and Telamon. His reputation for justice was so great, that after his death he was established one of the infernal judges along with Minos and Rhadamanthus. WATSON.

own country-damsels; and thee, O Alcæus, sounding in fuller strains on thy golden harp the distresses of exile, and the distresses of war. The ghosts admire them both, while they utter strains worthy of a sacred silence;[54] but the crowded multitude, pressing with their shoulders, imbibes, with a more greedy ear, battles and banished tyrants. What wonder? Since the many-headed monster, astonished at those lays, hangs down his sable ears; and the snakes, entwined in the hair of the furies, are soothed. Moreover, Prometheus and the sire of Pelops are deluded into an insensibility of their torments, by the melodious sound: nor is Orion any longer solicitous to harass the lions, or the fearful lynxes.

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## ODE XIV.

### TO POSTUMUS.

Alas! my Postumus, my Postumus, the fleeting years glide on; nor will piety cause any delay to wrinkles, and advancing old age, and insuperable death. You could not, if you were to sacrifice every passing day three hundred bulls, render propitious pitiless Pluto, who confines the thrice-monstrous Geryon and Tityus[55] with the dismal Stygian stream, namely, that stream which is to be passed over by all who are fed by the bounty of the earth, whether we be kings or poor hinds. In vain shall we be free from sanguinary Mars, and the broken billows of the hoarse Adriatic; in vain shall we be apprehensive for ourselves[56] of the noxious South,

[54] *Sacro silentio.* At the ancient sacred rites the most profound silence was required from all who stood around, both out of respect to the deity whom they were worshipping, as also lest some ill-omened expression, casually uttered by any one of the crowd, should mar the solemnities of the day. Hence the phrase "sacred silence," became eventually equivalent to, and is here used generally as, "the deepest silence." Thus Anthon:—a preferable explanation is, "suited to that hallowed region of silence." "Sacris sedibus, quas umbræ silentes incolunt, Elysio." Orell. Comp. Æn. vi. 264, "Umbræque silentes;" 443, "silentum concilium." Wheeler.

[55] Tityus, the son of Jupiter by Elora, of such a gigantic size, that his body was, according to the poets, nine acres in length. Watson.

[56] "The construction *metuemus corporibus* is more correct than *nocentem corporibus*, unless we regard it as twofold." Orelli.

in the time of autumn. The black Cocytus wandering with languid current, and the infamous race of Danaus,[57] and Sisyphus,[58] the son of Æolus, doomed to eternal toil, must be visited; your land and house and pleasing wife must be left, nor shall any of those trees, which you are nursing, follow you, their master for a brief space, except the hated cypresses; a worthier heir shall consume your Cæcuban wines now guarded with a hundred keys, and shall wet the pavement with the haughty wine, more exquisite than what graces pontifical entertainments.

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## ODE XV.

### AGAINST THE LUXURY OF THE ROMANS.

THE palace-like edifices will in a short time leave but a few acres for the plough; ponds of wider extent than the Lucrine lake will be every where to be seen; and the barren plane-tree will supplant the elms. Then banks of violets, and myrtle groves, and all the tribe of nosegays[59] shall diffuse their odours in the olive plantations, which were fruitful to their preceding master. Then the laurel with dense boughs shall exclude the burning beams. It was not so prescribed by the institutes of Romulus, and the unshaven Cato, and ancient custom. Their private income was contracted, while that of the community was great. No private men were then possessed of galleries measured by ten-feet rules, which collected the shady northern breezes; nor did the laws permit them to reject the casual turf [for their own huts], though at the same time they obliged them to ornament in the most sumptuous manner, with new stone, the buildings of the public, and the temples of the gods, at a common expense.

[57] Danaus. He had fifty daughters, called the Danaïdes, who, by their father's command, killed in one night all their husbands. WATSON.

[58] Sisyphus, the most cunning of all mortals, who, for his robberies and impious arts, was condemned to roll a stone up-hill, which immediately rolled down again; therefore Virgil calls it "non exuperabile saxum," or the unsurmountable stone. Georg. Lib. v. 39. WATSON.

[59] "Luxus odorum." SCHOL.

## ODE XVI.

TO GROSPHUS.

O GROSPHUS, he that is caught in the wide Ægean Sea, when a black tempest has obscured the moon, and not a star appears with steady light for the mariners, supplicates the gods for repose: for repose, Thrace furious in war; the quiver-graced Medes, for repose neither purchaseable by jewels, nor by purple, nor by gold. For neither regal treasures nor the consul's officer can remove[60] the wretched tumults of the mind, nor the cares that hover about splendid ceilings. That man lives happily on a little, who can view with pleasure the old-fashioned family salt-cellar on his frugal board; neither anxiety nor sordid avarice robs him of gentle sleep. Why do we, brave for a short season, aim at many things? Why do we change our own for climates heated by another sun? Who ever, by becoming an exile from his country, escaped likewise from himself? Consuming care boards even brazen-beaked ships; nor does it quit the troops of horsemen, for it is more fleet than the stags, more fleet than the storm-driving east wind. A mind that is cheerful in its present state, will disdain to be solicitous any further, and can correct the bitters of life with a placid smile. Nothing is on all hands completely blessed. A premature death carried off the celebrated Achilles; a protracted old age wore down Tithonus; and time perhaps may extend to me, what it shall deny to you. Around you a hundred flocks bleat, and Sicilian heifers low; for your use the mare, fit for the harness,[61] neighs; wool doubly dipped in the African purple-dye clothes you: on me undeceitful fate has bestowed a small country estate, and the slight inspiration of the Grecian muse, and a contempt for the malignity of the vulgar.

[60] One part of the lictor's office was, to remove the crowd, and open a way for the magistrates; from whence the poet hath taken this beautiful image. DAC.

[61] *Apta quadrigis*, "Born for the chariot." The poet merely wishes to express the generous properties of the animal. The ancients gave the preference in respect of swiftness to mares. The term *quadrigæ* properly denotes a chariot drawn by four horses, or mares. The Romans always yoked the animals that drew their race-chariots abreast.

## ODE XVII.

TO MÆCENAS.[62]

WHY dost thou kill me with thy complaints? 'Tis neither agreeable to the gods, nor to me, that thou shouldest depart first, O Mæcenas, thou grand ornament and pillar of my affairs. Alas! if an untimely blow hurry away thee, a part of my soul, why do I the other moiety remain, my value lost, nor any longer whole? That [fatal] day shall bring destruction upon us both. I have by no means taken a false oath:[63] we will go, we will go, whenever thou shalt lead the way, prepared to be fellow-travellers in the last journey. Me nor the breath of the fiery Chimæra, nor hundred-handed Gyges, were he to rise again, shall ever tear from thee: such is the will of powerful Justice, and of the Fates. Whether Libra or malignant Scorpio had the ascendant at my natal hour,[64] or Capricorn the ruler of the western wave, our horoscopes agree in a won-

[62] The constitution of Mæcenas, naturally weak, had been impaired by effeminacy and luxurious living. "He had laboured," observes Mr. Dunlop, "from his youth under a perpetual fever; and for many years before his death he suffered much from watchfulness, which was greatly aggravated by his domestic chagrins. Mæcenas was fond of life and enjoyment; and of life even without enjoyment. He confesses, in some verses preserved by Seneca, that he would wish to live even under every accumulation of physical calamity. (Seneca Epist. 101.) Hence he anxiously resorted to different remedies for the cure or relief of this distressing malady. Wine, soft music sounding at a distance, and various other contrivances, were contrived in vain. At length Antonius Musa, the imperial physician, obtained for him some alleviation of his complaint by means of the distant murmuring of falling water. But all these resources at last failed. The nervous and feverish disorder with which he was afflicted increased so dreadfully, that for three years before his death he never closed his eyes." (History of Roman Literature, vol. iii. p. 42, Lond. ed.) ANTHON.

[63] *Perfidum Sacramentum.* Horace alludes here to an oath of fidelity taken by soldiers when they were enlisted, and although there be not a formal oath expressed, yet it is included in

Ille dies utramque
Ducet ruinam. CRUQ. DAC.

[64] *Pars violentior natalis horæ.* *Pars* here signifies what the Greeks call μοῖρα, that part of the sign which appears above the horizon at the moment of birth; for every sign is divided into several parts, which make as many horoscopes, called by the poet *Natales Horæ.* DAC.

derful manner. Thee the benign protection of Jupiter, shining with friendly aspect, rescued from the baleful influence of impious Saturn, and retarded the wings of precipitate destiny, at the time the crowded people with resounding applauses thrice hailed you in the theatre: me the trunk of a tree, falling upon my skull, would have despatched, had not Faunus, the protector of men of genius, with his right hand warded off the blow. Be thou mindful to pay the victims and the votive temple; I will sacrifice an humble lamb.

## ODE XVIII.

### AGAINST AVARICE AND LUXURY.

Nor ivory, nor a fretted ceiling adorned with gold, glitters in my house: no Hymettian beams[65] rest upon pillars cut out of the extreme parts of Africa; nor, a pretended heir, have I possessed myself of the palace of Attalus,[66] nor do ladies, my dependants, spin Laconian purple for my use. But integrity, and a liberal vein of genius, are mine: and the man of fortune makes his court to me, who am but poor. I importune the gods no further, nor do I require of my friend in power any larger enjoyments, sufficiently happy with my Sabine farm alone. Day is driven on by day, and the new moons hasten to their wane. You put out marble to be hewn, though with one foot in the grave; and, unmindful of a sepulchre, are building houses; and are busy to extend the shore of the sea, that beats with violence at Baiæ,[67] not rich enough with

[65] Architraves, formed of the white marble of Hymettus, a mountain near Athens. Orelli.

[66] The old commentators and Cruquius imagine, that there is a stroke of satire here, by which the poet would insinuate, that the Roman people had fraudulently obtained the will by which Attalus made them his heirs. But this unknown heir was undoubtedly Aristonicus, who, after the death of Attalus, seized upon the throne, defeated Licinius Crassus, and being conquered by Perpenna, was carried to Rome, and strangled in prison by order of the senate. Torr.

[67] Baiæ, a city of Campania, near the sea, situated between Puteoli and Picenum. People were fond of building here, because of the beauty of the place. Here are many hot waters, pleasant and wholesome. Watson.

the shore of the main-land. Why is it, that through avarice you even pluck up the landmarks of your neighbour's ground, and trespass beyond the bounds of your clients; and wife and husband are turned out, bearing in their bosom their household gods and their destitute children? Nevertheless, no court more certainly awaits its wealthy lord, than the destined limit of rapacious Pluto. Why do you go on? The impartial earth is opened equally to the poor and to the sons of kings; nor has the life-guard ferryman of hell, bribed with gold, re-conducted the artful Prometheus. He confines proud Tantalus, and the race of Tantalus; he condescends, whether invoked or not, to relieve the poor freed from their labours.

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## ODE XIX.

### ON BACCHUS.

A DITHYRAMBIC, OR DRINKING SONG.

I SAW Bacchus (believe it, posterity) dictating strains among the remote rocks, and the nymphs learning them, and the ears of the goat-footed satyrs all attentive. Evœ! my mind trembles with recent dread, and my soul, replete with Bacchus,[68] has a tumultuous joy. Evœ![69] spare me, Bacchus; spare me, thou who art formidable for thy dreadful thyrsus. It is granted me to sing the wanton Bacchanalian priestess, and the fountain of wine, and rivulets flowing with milk, and to tell again of the honeys distilling from the hollow trunks. It is granted me likewise to celebrate the honour added to the constellations by your happy spouse,[70] and the palace of Pen-

[68] Bacchus, the son of Jupiter by Semele. He was taken out of his mother, and sewed into Jupiter's thigh till ripe for birth. He was the god of wine. WATSON.

[69] *Evœ* was a word used by the priests of Bacchus when they celebrated his mysteries, being taken from his name Evius, which was given by Jupiter in that war which the giants waged against heaven. WATSON.

[70] Ariadne, daughter to Minos, king of Crete, who, for the love she had to Theseus, gave him a clue to guide him through the mazes of the Labyrinth. She accompanied him as far as the island Naxos, or Dionysia, where Theseus most ungratefully left her: but Bacchus, pitying her, took

theus[71] demolished with no light ruin, and the perdition of Thracian Lycurgus.[72] You command the rivers, you the barbarian sea. You, moist with wine, on lonely mountain-tops bind the hair of your Thracian priestesses with a knot of vipers without hurt. You, when the impious band of giants scaled the realms of father Jupiter through the sky, repelled Rhœtus, with the paws and horrible jaw of the lion-shape [you had assumed]. Though, reported to be better fitted for dances and jokes and play, you were accounted insufficient for fight; yet it then appeared, you, the same deity, was the mediator of peace and war. Upon you, ornamented with your golden horn, Cerberus innocently gazed, gently wagging his tail; and with his triple tongue licked your feet and legs, as you returned.

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## ODE XX.

TO MÆCENAS.

I, A two-formed poet, will be conveyed through the liquid air with no vulgar or humble wing; nor will I loiter upon earth any longer; and, superior to envy, I will quit cities. Not I, even I, the blood of low parents, my dear Mæcenas, shall die; nor shall I be restrained by the Stygian wave. At this instant a rough skin settles upon my ankles, and all upwards I am transformed into a white bird, and the downy plumage arises over my fingers and shoulders. Now, a melodious bird, more expeditious than the Dædalean Icarus, I will visit the shores of the murmuring Bosphorus, and the Gætulean Syrtes, and the Hyperborean plains. Me the Col-

her into heaven, made her his wife, and presented her with a diadem, sparkling with seven stars, called Gnosia Corona. WATSON.

[71] Pentheus, a king of Thebes, who, for slighting the rites of Bacchus, was torn in pieces by his own mother, sisters, and aunt. WATSON.

[72] Lycurgus, a king of Thrace, who, finding his people too much addicted to wine, ordered all the vines of the country to be rooted up. Justin, book iii. Therefore Bacchus made him mad; so that he cut off his own legs. There was another of the same name, the famous Spartan lawgiver. WATSON.

chian and the Dacian, who hides his fear of the Marsian cohort, and the remotest Gelonians,[73] shall know: me the learned Spaniard[74] shall study, and he that drinks of the Rhone. Let there be no dirges,[75] nor unmanly lamentations, nor bewailings at my imaginary funeral; suppress your crying, and forbear the superfluous honours of a sepulchre.

[73] Geloni, a people of Scythia, otherwise called Getæ. They used to paint themselves, to become more terrible to their enemies; whence Virgil calls them "pictos Gelonos." Geor. ii. 115. They are thought to be now the Lithuanians. WATSON.

[74] In the time of Augustus, learning and the sciences flourished in Spain, whither they were carried from Asia, and where the Roman colonies contributed greatly to their encouragement. DAC.

[75] An imitation of Ennius' epitaph, p. 161, ed Hessel.

"Nemo me lacrameis decoret, nec funera fletu
Fac sit, quur? volito, vivo, per ora virûm."

THE THIRD BOOK

OF THE

# ODES OF HORACE.

## ODE I.

### ON CONTENTMENT.

I ABOMINATE the uninitiated vulgar, and keep them at a distance. Preserve a religious silence: I, the priest of the Muses, sing to virgins and boys verses not heard before. The dominion of dread sovereigns is over their own subjects; that of Jupiter, glorious for his conquest over the giants, who shakes all nature with his nod, is over sovereigns themselves. It happens that one man arranges trees, in regular rows, to a greater extent than another; this man comes down into the Campus [Martius][1] as a candidate of a better family; another vies with him for morals and a better reputation; a third has a superior number of dependants; but Fate, by the impartial law of nature, is allotted both to the conspicuous and the obscure: the capacious urn keeps every name in motion. Sicilian dainties will not force a delicious relish to that man, over whose impious neck the naked sword hangs; the songs of birds and the lyre will not restore his sleep. Sleep disdains not the humble cottages and shady bank of peasants; he disdains not Tempe, fanned by zephyrs. Him, who desires but a competency, neither the tempestuous sea renders anxious, nor the malign violence of Arcturus setting,[2] or of the rising

[1] The Field of Mars, where the popular assemblies were held for elections, was in the lowest ground of Rome, from whence the poet uses the word *descendat*. SAN.

[2] Setting Arcturus, a constellation of fourteen stars, which follow the Ursus Major, whence it has its name. It is thought, both at rising and setting, to cause tempests. The ancients have observed its rising to be in the middle of September, and its setting in the beginning of October. WATSON.

Kid; not his vineyards beaten down with hail, and a deceitful farm; his plantations at one season blaming the rains, at another, the influence of the constellations parching the grounds, at another, the severe winters. The fishes perceive the seas contracted, by the vast foundations that have been laid in the deep: hither numerous undertakers with their men, and lords, disdainful of the land, send down mortar: but anxiety and the threats of conscience[3] ascend by the same way as the possessor; nor does gloomy care depart from the brazen-beaked galley, and she mounts behind the horseman. Since then nor Phrygian marble, nor the use of purple more dazzling than the sun, nor the Falernian vine, nor the Persian nard, composes a troubled mind, why should I set about a lofty edifice[4] with columns that excite envy, and in the modern taste? Why should I exchange my Sabine vale for wealth, which is attended with more trouble?

## ODE II.

### AGAINST THE DEGENERACY OF THE ROMAN YOUTH.

Let the robust youth learn patiently[5] to endure pinching want in the active exercise of arms; and, as an expert horseman, dreadful for his spear, let him harass the fierce Parthians; and let him lead a life exposed to the open air, and familiar with dangers. Him, the consort and marriageable virgin-daughter of some warring tyrant, viewing from the hostile walls, may sigh—Alas! let not the affianced prince, unexperienced as he is in arms, provoke by a touch this terrible lion, whom bloody rage hurries through the midst of slaughter. It is sweet and glorious to die for one's country; death even pursues the man that flies from him; nor does he spare the trembling knees of effeminate youth, nor the coward back. Virtue, unknowing of base repulse, shines with immaculate honours; nor does she assume nor lay aside the ensigns of

[3] *Minæ*, "internæ propter facinora commissa." Orelli.

[4] *Atrium* was properly a great hall, in which the Romans placed the statues of their ancestors, received their clients, and performed all their domestic business. It is here used for the whole dwelling. Ed. Dublin.

[5] *Amice*, i. e. "with a mind well-disposed towards toil," and hence, "patiently, willingly." Orelli.

her dignity,[6] at the veering of the popular air. Virtue, throwing open heaven to those who deserve not to die, directs her progress through paths of difficulty,[7] and spurns with a rapid wing grovelling crowds and the slippery earth. There is likewise a sure reward for faithful silence. I will prohibit that man, who shall have divulged the sacred rites of mysterious Ceres, from being under the same roof with me, or from setting sail with me in the same fragile bark: for Jupiter, when slighted, often joins a good man in the same fate with a bad one. Seldom hath punishment, though lame of foot, failed to overtake the wicked.

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## ODE III.[8]

### ON STEADINESS AND INTEGRITY.

Not the rage of the people pressing to hurtful measures, not the aspect of a threatening tyrant, can shake from his settled purpose the man who is just and determined in his resolution; nor can the south wind, that tumultuous ruler of the restless Adriatic, nor the mighty hand of thundering Jove; if a crushed world should fall in upon him, the ruins would strike him undismayed. By this character[9] Pollux,[10] by this

[6] Literally, "the fasces."

[7] Literally, "a forbidden track."

[8] Julius Cæsar, according to Suetonius, had formed a design of transporting the seat of empire to Troy or Alexandria, after having exhausted Italy of its treasures and inhabitants. This was strongly reported a little before the dictator was put to death; and, as Augustus seemed willing to enter into all the schemes of his predecessor, and as Troy was usually esteemed the seat of the Julian family, the Romans were apprehensive that he had resolved to carry this project into execution. It is certain, that both Julius Cæsar and Augustus, on many occasions, showed a very remarkable inclination in favour of Troy: the first ordered it to be rebuilt; the second settled a colony there; and they both granted it considerable privileges. Thus the report, concerning the dictator's intention, might naturally make the people attentive to the actions of his successor; and their apprehensions might have engaged the poet to write this ode, in which he boldly attempts to dissuade Augustus from his design by representing Juno, in a full assembly of the gods, threatening the Romans with her resentment, if they should dare to rebuild the walls of a city which had been always an object of her displeasure and revenge.

[9] *Hac arte,*] ἀρετῇ, "by using this same constancy." Orelli.

[10] Pollux, the son of Jupiter and Leda, and twin brother of Castor;

the wandering Hercules, arrived at the starry citadels; among whom Augustus[11] has now taken his place, and quaffs nectar with empurpled lips. Thee, O father Bacchus, meritorious for this virtue, thy tigers carried, drawing the yoke with intractable neck; by this Romulus escaped Acheron on the horses of Mars—Juno[12] having spoken what the gods in full conclave approved: "Troy, Troy, a fatal and lewd judge,[13] and a foreign woman, have reduced to ashes, condemned,[14] with its inhabitants and fraudulent prince, to me and the chaste Minerva, ever since Laomedon[15] disappointed the gods of the stipulated reward. Now neither the infamous guest of the Lacedæmonian adulteress shines; nor does Priam's perjured family repel the warlike Grecians by the aid of Hector, and that war, spun out to such a length by our factions, has sunk to peace. Henceforth therefore I will give up to Mars both my bitter resentment, and the detested grandson,[16] whom the Trojan princess bore. Him will I suffer to enter the bright regions, to drink the juice of nectar, and to be enrolled among the peaceful orders of gods. As long as the extensive sea rages

or, as others, the son of Tyndarus, whence the brothers are called Tyndaridæ. He and his brother were immortal by turns. He was famous for boxing, and Castor for horsemanship. They freed the seas of pirates, and were therefore worshipped as the gods of the sea. WATSON.

[11] Divine honours were decreed to Augustus in the year 725, and the poet here appoints him a seat in heaven among the heroes, who were deified for their resolution and constancy, to show that his statue was placed in Rome with those of Pollux, Hercules, and Bacchus. The Romans painted the faces of these statues with vermilion, from whence. Dacier thinks that Horace hath taken this expression, *purpureo ore*. Others understand the rays of light, with which the gods are represented; yet more naturally it seems to mean a glowing or brightness, without regard to any particular colour, for the word *purpureus* is often thus used by the best authors. As Virgil, *purpureum mare*. FRAN.

[12] Juno, see B. II. Ode i. WATSON.

[13] Alluding to the judgment of Paris. Cf. Virg. Æn. i. 26 sq.

[14] *Damnatus* was a term of the Roman law, which adjudged an insolvent debtor to his creditors; in which sense it is here used, to express the condemnation of the Trojans to the resentment of Juno and Minerva. DAC.

[15] *Laomedon*. The ancients relate that Neptune and Apollo assisted him in building the walls of Troy, but that he defrauded them of the wages he promised them for so doing. WATSON.

[16] Romulus was the grandson of Juno by her son Mars, and detested by the goddess because a Trojan priestess was his mother. Nepos, in the time of pure Latinity, always signified a grandson, and Quintilian first used it for a nephew. SAN.

between Troy and Rome, let them, exiles, reign happy in any other part of the world: as long as cattle trample upon the tomb of Priam and Paris, and wild beasts conceal their young ones there with impunity, may the Capitol remain in splendour, and may brave Rome be able to give laws to the conquered Medes. Tremendous, let her extend her name abroad to the extremest boundaries of the earth, where the middle ocean separates Europe from Africa, where the swollen Nile waters the plains; more brave in despising gold as yet undiscovered, and so best situated while hidden in the earth, than in forcing it out for the uses of mankind, with a hand ready to make depredations on every thing that is sacred. Whatever end of the world has made resistance, that let her reach with her arms, joyfully alert to visit even that part where fiery heats rage madding; that where clouds and rains storm with unmoderated fury. But I pronounce this fate to the warlike Romans, upon this condition; that neither through an excess of piety, nor of confidence in their power, they become inclined to rebuild the houses of their ancestors' Troy. The fortune of Troy, reviving under unlucky auspices, shall be repeated with lamentable destruction, I, the wife and sister of Jupiter, leading on the victorious bands. Thrice if a brazen wall should arise by the means of its founder Phœbus, thrice should it fall, demolished by my Grecians; thrice should the captive wife bewail her husband and her children." These themes ill suit the merry lyre. Whither, muse, are you going?—Cease, impertinent, to relate the language of the gods, and to debase great things by your trifling measures.

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## ODE IV.

### TO CALLIOPE.

DESCEND from heaven, queen Calliope, and come sing with your pipe a lengthened strain; or, if you had now rather, with your clear voice, or on the harp or lute of Phœbus. Do ye hear? or does a pleasing phrensy delude me? I seem to hear [her], and to wander [with her] along the hallowed groves, through which pleasant rivulets and gales make their

way. Me, when a child, and fatigued with play, in sleep the woodland doves, famous in story, covered with green leaves in the Apulian Vultur, just without the limits of my native Apulia; so that it was matter of wonder to all that inhabit the nest of lofty[17] Acherontia, the Bantine forests, and the rich soil of low Ferentum, how I could sleep with my body safe from deadly vipers and ravenous bears; how I could be covered with sacred laurel and myrtle heaped together, though a child, not animated without the [inspiration of the] gods. Yours, O ye muses, I am yours, whether I am elevated to the Sabine heights; or whether the cool Præneste, or the sloping Tibur, or the watery Baiæ have delighted me. Me, who am attached to your fountains and dances, not the army put to flight at Philippi,[18] not the execrable tree, nor a Palinurus in the Sicilian Sea has destroyed. While you shall be with me, with pleasure will I, a sailor, dare the raging Bosphorus; or, a traveller, the burning sands of the Assyrian shore:[19] I will visit the Britons inhuman to strangers,[20] and the Concanian delighted [with drinking] the blood of horses: I will visit the quivered Geloni, and the Scythian river[21] without hurt. You entertained lofty[22] Cæsar, seeking to put an end to his toils, in the Pierian grotto, as soon as he had distributed in towns

[17] Horace calls Acherontia a nest, because it was situated upon rocks, on the frontiers of Lucania. Cicero says of Ulysses, "so powerful is the love of our country, that this wisest of the Greeks preferred his Ithaca, fixed, like a nest, upon rocks, to the enjoyment of immortality." DAC.

[18] The poet here collects three facts, to show that the gods particularly watched over his preservation. He fled from the battle of Philippi in 712; he avoided the fall of a tree, 734; and he was preserved from shipwreck, probably, in the year 716, when he went aboard the fleet with Mæcenas, to pass over into Sicily against Pompey. SAN.

[19] Assyria, properly speaking, is an inland country, and far distant from the sea; it is therefore used by the poet for Syria, which extends itself along the shore as far as Babylon. Such liberties are usual to the poets. DAC. SAN.

[20] Upon the authority of the scholiast Acron, the commentators believe that the Britons sacrificed strangers to the gods.

[21] The commentators here understand the Tanais; but the poet seems rather to speak of the Caspian Sea, which is also called *Scythicus sinus*. The Latins, in imitation of the Greeks, make use of the word *amnis* instead of *mare*. DAC.

[22] Dacier and Sanadon, in opposition to all the commentators, agree that this epithet is here used for *alumnus*, that it refers to *almæ* in the forty-second line, and that they are both derived from the verb *alere*.

his troops, wearied by campaigning:[23] you administer [to him] moderate counsel, and graciously rejoice at it when administered. We are aware how he, who rules the inactive earth and the stormy main, the cities also, and the dreary realms [of hell], and alone governs with a righteous sway both gods and the human multitude, how he took off the impious Titans and the gigantic troop by his falling thunderbolts. That horrid youth trusting to the strength of their arms, and the brethren proceeding to place Pelion upon shady Olympus, had brought great dread [even] upon Jove. But what could Typhoëus, and the strong Mimas, or what Porphyrion with his menacing stature; what Rhœtus, and Enceladus, a fierce darter with trees uptorn, avail, though rushing violently against the sounding shield of Pallas? At one part stood the eager Vulcan, at another the matron Juno, and he, who is never desirous to lay aside his bow from his shoulders, Apollo, the god of Delos and Patara, who bathes his flowing hair in the pure dew of Castalia, and possesses the groves of Lycia and his native wood. Force, void of conduct, falls by its own weight; moreover, the gods promote discreet force to further advantage; but the same beings detest forces, that meditate every kind of impiety. The hundred-handed Gyges is an evidence of the sentiments I allege: and Orion, the tempter of the spotless Diana, destroyed by a virgin dart. The earth, heaped over her own monsters, grieves and laments her offspring, sent to murky Hades by a thunderbolt; nor does the active fire consume Ætna that is placed over it, nor does the vulture desert the liver of incontinent Tityus, being stationed there as an avenger of his baseness; and three hundred chains confine the amorous Pirithoüs.

[23] It is a noble encomium of Augustus, that he was fatigued with conquest, which he was always willing to end by an honourable peace. Piso having happily terminated the Thracian war in 743, Augustus returned to Rome in the beginning of the year following, with Tiberius and Drusus, who had reduced the Germans, the Dacians, and other nations bordering upon the Danube. The empire being thus at peace, Augustus executed a decree of the senate to shut the temple of Janus. This naturally supposes the disbanding of his armies of which Horace speaks. SAN.

## ODE V.[24]

ON THE RECOVERY OF THE STANDARDS FROM PHRAATES.

We believe[25] from his thundering that Jupiter has dominion in the heavens: Augustus shall be esteemed a present deity, the Britons and terrible Parthians being added to the empire. What! has any soldier of Crassus lived, a degraded husband with a barbarian wife? And has (O [corrupted] senate, and degenerate morals!) the Marsian and Apulian, unmindful of the sacred bucklers, of the [Roman] name and gown, and of eternal Vesta, grown old in the lands of hostile fathers-in-law, Jupiter[26] and the city being in safety? The prudent mind of Regulus had provided against this, dissenting[27] from ignominious terms, and inferring from such a precedent destruction to the succeeding age, if the captive youth were not to perish unpitied. "I have beheld," said he, "the Roman standards affixed to the Carthaginian temples, and their arms taken away from our soldiers without bloodshed. I have beheld the arms of our citizens bound behind their free-born backs, and the gates [of the enemy] unshut, and the fields, which were depopulated by our battles, cultivated anew. The

[24] In the year of Rome 731, Phraates received his son, who was detained as a hostage at Rome, from Augustus, on the express condition that he would restore the Roman standards taken from the army of Crassus. Phraates however considered that distance was safety, and accordingly neglected to fulfil his engagement, until a rumour prevailed that Augustus would no longer be trifled with, and had already advanced as far as Syria, with the intention of renewing the war. By policy then the standards were restored, yet the vanity of the Romans transformed this peaceable transaction into the result of a violent warfare, and accordingly it was celebrated by triumphal arches, monuments, and coins. WH. "History, with correct simplicity, assures us, (F. H. 238,) that in B. C. 23, Tiridates being then at Rome, on an embassy arriving from Phraates, Augustus seized the occasion, among other points, to demand the restitution of the standards; and to the natural expectation of prompt compliance, which such a demand would create, Mr. Clinton thinks may be referred this splendid stanza, when hope is at once converted into certainty." TATE.

[25] "*Credidimus*, i. e. semper, atque etiam nunc credimus." ORELLI.

[26] Jove. "Salvo capitolio." SCHOL.

[27] We have adopted the reading of MSS. with the interpretation of Jahn, "of Regulus dissenting from this base proposal, and *deducing* from this precedent destruction for all futurity," &c. WHEELER.

soldier, to be sure, ransomed by gold, will return a braver fellow!—No—you add loss to infamy; [for] neither does the wool once stained by the dye of the sea-weed ever resume its lost colour; nor does genuine valour, when once it has failed, care to resume its place in those who have degenerated through cowardice. If the hind, disentangled from the thick-set toils, ever fights, then indeed shall he be valorous, who has intrusted himself to faithless foes; and he shall trample upon the Carthaginians in a second war, who dastardly has felt the thongs with his arms tied behind him, and has been afraid of death. He, knowing no other way to preserve his life, has confounded peace with war.—O scandal! O mighty Carthage, elevated to a higher pitch by Italy's disgraceful downfal! He (*Regulus*) is reported to have rejected the embrace of his virtuous wife and his little sons like one degraded;[28] and to have sternly fixed his manly countenance on the ground, until, as an adviser, by his counsel he confirmed the wavering senators, and amidst his weeping friends hastened away, a glorious exile. Notwithstanding he knew what the barbarian executioner was providing for him, yet he pushed from his opposing kindred and the populace retarding his return, in no other manner, than if (after he had quitted the tedious business of his clients, by determining their suit) he was only going to the Venafrian plains, or the Lacedæmonian Tarentum.

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## ODE VI.

### TO THE ROMANS.

Thou shalt atone, O Roman, for the sins of your ancestors, though innocent, till you shall have repaired the temples and tottering shrines of the gods, and their statues, defiled with sooty smoke. Thou holdest sway, because thou bearest thyself subordinate to the gods; to this source refer every undertaking; to this, every event. The gods, because neglected, have inflicted many evils on calamitous Italy. Already has

[28] *Ut capitis minor*, "As one no longer a freeman." Among the Romans, any loss of liberty or of the rights of a citizen was called *Deminutio Capitis*. ANTHON.

Monæses,[29] and the band of Pacorus, twice repelled our inauspicious attacks, and exults in having added the Roman spoils to their trivial collars. The Dacian and Æthiopian[30] have almost demolished the city engaged in civil broils, the one formidable for his fleet, the other more expert for missile arrows. The times, fertile in wickedness, have in the first place polluted the marriage state, and [thence] the issue and families. From this fountain perdition being derived, has overwhelmed the nation and people. The marriageable virgin delights to be taught the Ionic dances,[31] and even at this time is trained up in [seductive] arts, and cherishes unchaste desires from her very infancy. Soon after she courts younger debauchees when her husband is in his cups, nor has she any choice, to whom she shall privately grant her forbidden pleasures when the lights are removed, but at the word of command, openly, not without the knowledge of her husband, she will come forth, whether it be a factor that calls for her, or the captain of a Spanish ship, the extravagant purchaser of her disgrace. It was not a youth born from parents like these, that stained the sea with Carthaginian gore, and slew Pyrrhus, and mighty Antiochus, and terrific Annibal; but a manly progeny of rustic soldiers, instructed to turn the glebe with Sabine spades, and to carry clubs cut [out of the woods] at the pleasure of a rigid mother, what time the sun shifted the shadows[32] of the mountains, and took the yokes from the

[29] Alluding to two Parthian commanders who had proved victorious over the Romans. Monæses, more commonly known by the name of Surena, is the same that defeated Crassus. Pacorus was the son of Orodes, the Parthian monarch, and defeated Didius Saxa, the lieutenant of Marc Antony. *Monæses*, here, is a proper name, but *Surena* is an oriental term of dignity, indicating the person next in authority to the monarch.

[30] We are not to understand this passage, as if the Dacians and Æthiopians had twice attempted to destroy the city of Rome. Horace means the army of Antony and Cleopatra, which was chiefly composed of those nations. BOND.

[31] The Ionians were the most voluptuous people of the world; their music, their dances, and their poetry were formed with a peculiar softness and delicacy. Even their laughter had something so dissolute, that Ἰωνικὸς γέλως became a proverb. The poet mentions the marriageable virgin, because it was shameful for a girl of that age to learn to dance. That exercise was only permitted during their infancy. TORR.

[32] The sun changes the shadows, in proportion as he declines to his

wearied oxen, bringing on the pleasant hour with his retreating chariot. What does not wasting time destroy? The age of our fathers, worse than our grandsires, produced us still more flagitious, us, who are about to produce an offspring more vicious [even than ourselves].

## ODE VII.

### TO ASTERIE.

WHY, O Asterie, do you weep for Gyges, a youth of inviolable constancy,[33] whom the kindly zephyrs[34] will restore to you in the beginning of the spring, enriched with a Bithynian cargo?[35] Driven as far as Oricum by the southern winds, after [the rising] of the Goat's tempestuous constellation, he sleepless passes the cold nights in abundant weeping [for you]; but the agent of his anxious landlady slyly tempts him by a thousand methods, informing him that [his mistress], Chloe, is sighing for him, and burns with the same love that thou hast for him. He remonstrates with him how a perfidious woman urged the credulous Prœtus, by false accusations, to hasten the death of the over-chaste Bellerophon. He tells how Peleus was like to have been given up to the infernal regions, while out of temperance he avoided the Magnesian Hippolyte: and the deceiver quotes histories to him, that are lessons for sinning.[36] In vain; for, heart-whole as yet, he receives his words deafer than the Icarian rocks. But with regard to you, have a care lest your neighbour Enipeus prove too pleasing. Though no other person equally skilful to guide

setting. In the morning he directs them to the west, in the evening to the east. TORR.

[33] "Fide" is the ancient form of the genitive. See Orelli.

[34] The poet does not mean that this wind shall bring Gyges home, for it was directly contrary to his return to Italy, but that in general it opens the seas, and encourages navigation, by restoring fair weather. TORR.

[35] Toys of iron, steel, silver, and gold, which the Bithynians made with great neatness. FRANCIS.

[36] Chloe's confidant, not being able to terrify Gyges into compliance, by the dangers to which these two heroes were exposed for their chastity, strives to seduce him by examples of those who had yielded upon easier terms. TORR.

the steed, is conspicuous in the course, nor does any one with equal swiftness swim down the Etrurian stream, yet secure your house at the very approach of night, nor look down into the streets at the sound of the doleful pipe; and remain inflexible towards him, though he often upbraid thee with cruelty.

## ODE VIII.

### TO MÆCENAS.[37]

O MÆCENAS, learned in both languages,[38] you wonder what I, a single man, have to do on the calends of March; what these flowers mean, and the censer replete with frankincense, and the coals laid upon the live turf. I made a vow of a joyous banquet, and a white goat[39] to Bacchus, after having been at the point of death by a blow from a tree. This day, sacred in the revolving year, shall remove the cork fastened with pitch[40] from that jar, which was set to inhale the smoke

[37] A festival was observed, with much religious pomp, upon the first of March, by the Roman ladies, in memory of the day when the Sabine women, having reconciled their husbands with their fathers, dedicated a temple to Juno. They offered sacrifices and flowers to the goddess in that very temple, and waited at home the rest of the day, to receive the presents which their friends and husbands made them, as if to thank them for that happy mediation. From hence the calends of March were called *Matronalia*, or *Matronales feriæ;* and, while the wives performed their offerings to Juno, their husbands sacrificed to Janus. TORR. DAC.

[38] *Sermones*, in the language of Horace, signifies books and literary compositions. It is here used in the same sense; for the surprise of Mæcenas, at seeing a bachelor preparing a sacrifice on the first of March, arises from his knowledge of the religious rites and customs of Greece, by his being master of the books and learning of both languages. SAN.

[39] The ancients usually sacrificed to the gods the beasts which they hated. Thus a goat is sacrificed to Bacchus, because it destroyed the vine. The victims of the celestial gods were white, those of the infernal deities were black. CRUQ.

[40] When the wine vessels were filled, and the disturbance of the liquor had subsided, the covers or stoppers were secured with plaster, or a coating of pitch mixed with the ashes of the vine, so as to exclude all communication with the external air. After this, the wines were mellowed by the application of smoke, which was prevented, by the ample coating of pitch or plaster on the wine vessel, from penetrating so far as to vitiate the genuine taste of the liquor. Previously, however, to depositing the

in the consulship of Tullus. Take, my Mæcenas, a hundred cups on account of the safety of your friend, and continue the wakeful lamps even to day-light: all clamour and passion be far away. Postpone your political cares[41] with regard to the state: the army of the Dacian Cotison is defeated; the troublesome Mede[42] is quarrelling with himself in a horrible [civil] war: the Cantabrian, our old enemy[43] on the Spanish coast, is subject to us, though conquered by a long-disputed victory: now, too, the Scythians are preparing to quit the field with their unbent bows. Neglectful,[44] as a private person, forbear to be too solicitous lest the community in any wise suffer, and joyfully seize the boons of the present hour, and quit serious affairs.

## ODE IX.

### TO LYDIA.

HORACE. As long as I was agreeable to thee, and no other

amphoræ in the wine-vault or apotheca, it was usual to put upon them a label or mark indicative of the vintages, and of the names of the consuls in authority at the time, in order that, when they were taken out, their age and growth might be easily recognised. If by the consulship of Tullus, mentioned in the text, be meant that of L. Volcatius Tullus, who had M. Æmilius Lepidus for his colleague, A. U. C. 688, and if the present ode, as would appear from verse 17 seqq., was composed A. U. C. 734, the wine offered by Horace to his friend must have been more than forty-six years old. ANTHON.

[41] Augustus was not yet returned from his eastern expedition, and when Agrippa went to Spain, Pannonia, and Syria, Mæcenas possessed alone the government of Rome and Italy, until September, 738, when he resigned it to Statilius Taurus, that he might follow Augustus into Gaul. TORR. SAN.

[42] The submission which Phraates made to Augustus, was as much an effect of his politics as of his fears. Detested for his cruelties, he endeavoured to support himself against his own subjects by his alliance with the Romans, and when he rendered to Augustus the Roman standards and prisoners, he delivered four sons and four grandsons to him, to preserve them from the insurrections of his own people. SAN.

[43] The war in Spain continued more than 200 years before the Cantabrians were perfectly subdued, and Strabo judiciously remarks, that it proceeded from their not opposing their whole force at once to the Romans. SAN.

[44] *Negligens*: "securus, non timens." SCHOL.

youth more favoured was wont to fold his arms around thy snowy neck, I lived happier than the Persian monarch.[45]

LYDIA. As long as thou hadst not a greater flame for any other, nor was Lydia below Chloe [in thine affections], I, Lydia, of distinguished fame, flourished more eminent than the Roman Ilia.

HOR. The Thracian Chloe now commands me, skilful in sweet modulations, and a mistress of the lyre; for whom I would not dread to die, if the fates would spare her, my surviving soul.

LYD. Calais, the son of the Thurian Ornitus, inflames me with a mutual fire; for whom I would twice endure to die, if the fates would spare my surviving youth.

HOR. What! if our former love returns, and unites by a brazen yoke us once parted? What if Chloe with her golden locks be shaken off, and the door again open to slighted Lydia?

LYD. Though he is fairer than a star, thou of more levity than a cork, and more passionate than the blustering Adriatic; with thee I should love to live, with thee I would cheerfully die.

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## ODE X.

### TO LYCE.

O LYCE, had you drunk from the remote Tanais, in a state of marriage with some barbarian, yet you might be sorry to expose me, prostrate before your obdurate doors, to the north winds that have made those places their abode. Do you hear with what a noise your gate, with what [a noise] the grove, planted about your elegant buildings, rebellows to the winds? And how Jupiter glazes the settled snow with his bright influence? Lay aside disdain, offensive to Venus, lest your rope should run backward,[46] while the wheel is revolving. Your

[45] The kings of Persia, in the times of Horace, might more properly be called governors, as they were in subjection to the Parthians. The poet therefore means the ancient kings of Persia, such as Cyrus or Darius, who were called kings of kings; and whose riches and power gave birth to the proverb, "Happier than the king of Persia." CRUQ.

[46] An allusion to some mechanical contrivance for raising heavy weights, and which consists of a wheel with a rope passing in a groove along its

Tyrrhenian father did not beget you to be as inaccessible as Penelope to your wooers. O though neither presents, nor prayers, nor the violet-tinctured paleness of your lovers, nor your husband smitten with a musical courtezan, bend you to pity; yet [at length] spare your suppliants, you that are not softer than the sturdy oak, nor of a gentler disposition than the African serpents. This side [of mine] will not always be able to endure your threshold, and the rain.

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## ODE XI.

### TO MERCURY.

O MERCURY, for under thy instruction the ingenious Amphion moved rocks by his voice, you being his tutor; and though my harp, skilled in sounding, with seven strings,[47] formerly neither vocal nor pleasing, but now agreeable both to the tables of the wealthy and the temples [of the gods]; dictate measures to which Lyde may incline her obstinate ears, who, like a filly of three years old, plays and frisks about in the spacious fields, inexperienced in nuptial loves, and hitherto unripe for a brisk husband. You are able to draw after you tigers and attendant woods, and to retard rapid rivers. To your blandishments the enormous porter of the [infernal] palace yielded, though an hundred serpents fortify his head, and a pestilential steam and an infectious poison issue from his triple-tongued mouth. Moreover, Ixion and Tityus smiled with a reluctant aspect: while you soothe the daughters of Danaus[48]

outer edge. Should the weight of the mass that is to be raised prove too heavy, the rope, unable to resist, snaps asunder, and flies back, being drawn down by the body intended to be elevated. ANTHON.

[47] Diodorus tells us, that the lyre had at first but four strings, according to the number of seasons, or quarters of the heavens. Macrobius informs us, that it was afterwards, in view to the number of the planets, mounted with seven strings; from whence Pindar calls it the seven-tongued lyre. FRAN.

[48] Danaides; the daughters of Danaus. He was the brother of Egyptus, king of Egypt. He came into Greece, and having expelled Sthenelus, fixed at Argos. He had fifty daughters, who were married to the fifty sons of Egyptus, whereof all, except Hypermnestra, by their father's command, slew their husbands upon the wedding-night; for which they were condemned in hell to fill a tub with water, the bottom of which was

with your delightful harmony, their vessel for some time remained dry. Let Lyde hear of the crime, and the well-known punishment of the virgins, and the cask emptied by the water streaming through the bottom, and what lasting fates await their misdeeds even beyond the grave. Impious! (for what greater impiety could they have committed?) Impious! who could destroy their bridegrooms with the cruel sword! One out of the many, worthy of the nuptial torch,[49] was nobly false to her perjured parent, and a maiden illustrious to all posterity; she, who said to her youthful husband, "Arise! arise! lest an eternal sleep be given to you from a hand you have no suspicion of; disappoint your father-in-law and my wicked sisters, who, like lionesses having possessed themselves of calves, (alas!) tear each of them to pieces; I, of softer mould than they, will neither strike thee, nor detain thee in my custody. Let my father load me with cruel chains, because out of mercy I spared my unhappy spouse; let him transport me even to the extreme Numidian plains. Depart, whither your feet and the winds carry you, while the night and Venus are favourable: depart with happy omen; yet, not forgetful of me, engrave my mournful story on my tomb."[50]

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## ODE XII.

### TO NEOBULE.

It is for unhappy maidens neither to give indulgence to love, nor to wash away cares with delicious wine; or to be dispirited out of dread of the lashes of an uncle's tongue.[51] The

pierced, and full of holes, that it could not retain any; by which means their labour was perpetually renewed. WATSON.

[49] This expression is taken metaphorically for the marriage; because in the nuptial ceremonies the bride was conducted in the night to the bridegroom's house by the light of torches. SAN.

[50] Ovid (Her. xiv. 128) supplies the epitaph:

> Scriptaque sunt titulo nostra sepulchra brevi:
> "Exul Hypermnestra pretium pietatis iniquum
> Quam mortem fratri depulit, ipsa tulit." ANTHON.

[51] Among the Romans, uncles had a great power over their nephews;

winged boy of Venus, O Neobule, has deprived you of your spindle and your webs, and the beauty of Hebrus[52] from Lipara of inclination for the labours of industrious Minerva, after he has bathed his anointed shoulders in the waters of the Tiber; a better horseman than Bellerophon himself, neither conquered at boxing, nor by want of swiftness in the race: he is also skilled to strike with his javelin the stags flying through the open plains in frightened herd, and active to surprise the wild-boar lurking in the deep thicket.

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## ODE XIII.

### TO THE BANDUSIAN FOUNTAIN.

O THOU fountain of Bandusia, clearer than glass, worthy of delicious wine,[53] not unadorned by flowers; to-morrow thou shalt be presented with a kid, whose forehead, pouting with new horns, determines upon both love and war in vain; for this offspring of the wanton flock shall tinge thy cooling streams with scarlet blood. The severe season of the burning dog-star cannot reach thee; thou affordest a refreshing coolness to the oxen fatigued with the plough-share, and to the ranging flock. Thou also shalt become one of the famous fountains, through my celebrating the oak that covers the hollow rocks, whence thy prattling rills descend with a bound.

and as they were not usually so indulgent as fathers, their severity passed into a proverb. TORR.

[52] *Hebri.* The name of a river, (as above Enipeus, Od. iii. 7, 23,) is attributed to a lover, yet the addition of his country's name indicates some individual easily recognisable. ANTHON.

[53] Ovid represents Numa sacrificing to a fountain, and placing round it goblets crowned with flowers, a particular not mentioned by Horace, although it was, perhaps, a usual part of the solemnity, intended to invite the divinity to drink. DAC.

## ODE XIV.

### TO THE ROMANS.[54]

AUGUSTUS CÆSAR, O ye people, who was lately said, like another Hercules, to have sought for the laurel to be purchased only by death, revisits his domestic gods, victorious from the Spanish shore. Let the matron (*Livia*), to whom her husband alone is dear, come forth in public procession, having first performed her duty to the just gods;[55] and (*Octavia*), the sister of our glorious general; the mothers also of the maidens and of the youths just preserved from danger, becomingly adorned with supplicatory fillets.[56] Ye, O young men, and young women lately married, abstain from ill-omened words. This day, to me a real festival, shall expel gloomy cares: I will neither dread commotions,[57] nor violent death, while Cæsar is in possession of the earth. Go, slave, and seek for perfume and chaplets, and a cask that remembers the Marsian war,[58] if any vessel could elude the vagabond Spartacus.[59] And bid the tuneful Neæra make haste to

[54] Augustus left Rome in the month of June, 727, for his British expedition; but satisfied with the submission of that people, he turned his arms against the Spaniards, and did not return to Rome until the year 730. TORR.

[55] The gods are here styled "just" from their granting to Augustus the success which his valour deserved. This, of course, is mere flattery. Augustus was never remarkable either for personal bravery or military talents. ANTHON.

[56] The Roman ladies usually bound their heads, as a mark of their chastity, with fillets, which common women durst not wear. But Horace rather means the sacred veils with which they covered their heads and hands in sacrifices, public prayers, and processions upon extraordinary occasions. DAC.

[57] By *tumultus* the poet means the civil wars, and by *vis*, all foreign wars. He with reason speaks of the tranquillity of the Roman empire; for Augustus a second time shut the temple of Janus when he returned from Spain. TORR. SAN.

[58] This war was called the Social and Italian war, which Horace calls Marsian, because it was begun by the Marsi; and as the memory of this war was marked on the cask, for which the poet sends his slaves, the wine must have been sixty-eight years old. SAN.

[59] Spartacus, a gladiator, and Thracian by birth, who, putting himself at the head of a small number of gladiators, whom he had drawn out of

collect into a knot her auburn hair; *but* if any delay should happen from the surly porter, come away. Hoary hair mollifies minds, that are fond of strife and petulant wrangling. I would not have endured this treatment, warm with youth in the consulship of Plancus.[60]

## ODE XV.

### TO CHLORIS.

YOU wife of the indigent Ibycus, at length put an end to your wickedness, and your infamous practices. Cease to sport among the damsels, and to diffuse a cloud among bright constellations, now on the verge of a timely death. If any thing will become Pholoë, it does not you, Chloris, likewise. Your daughter with more propriety attacks the young men's apartments, like a Bacchanalian roused up by the rattling timbrel. The love of Nothus makes her frisk about like a wanton she-goat. The wool shorn near the famous Luceria becomes you now antiquated: not musical instruments, or the damask flower of the rose, or hogsheads drunk down to the lees.

## ODE XVI.

### TO MÆCENAS.

A BRAZEN tower, and doors of oak, and the melancholy watch of wakeful dogs, had sufficiently defended the imprisoned Danaë[61] from midnight gallants, had not Jupiter and Venus

the hall of one Lentulus, at Capua, and increasing his troop by a great number of slaves, who daily flocked to him, and ranged themselves under his banners, ravaged all Italy. WATSON.

[60] Munatius Plancus was consul in the year when the battle of Philippi was fought, when our poet appeared in the cause of liberty, and was a tribune under Brutus. BOND.

[61] Danaë, the daughter of Acrisius, king of the Argives. He being forewarned by the oracle, that he should be slain by his own grandson and having no other daughter but this Danaë, he caused her to be shut up in a strong tower, and suffered none to come near her. But all these

laughed at Acrisius, the anxious keeper of the immured maiden: [for they well knew] that the way would be safe and open, after the god had transformed himself into a bribe. Gold delights to penetrate through the midst of guards, and to break through stone-walls, more potent than the thunderbolt. The family of the Grecian augur[62] perished, immersed in destruction on account of lucre. The man of Macedon[63] cleft the gates of cities and subverted rival monarchs by bribery. Bribes enthral fierce captains of ships. Care, and a thirst for greater things, is the consequence of increasing wealth. Therefore, Mæcenas, thou glory of the [Roman] knights, I have justly dreaded to raise the far-conspicuous head. As much more as any man shall deny himself, so much more shall he receive from the gods. Naked as I am, I seek the camps of those who covet nothing; and as a deserter, rejoice to quit the side of the wealthy: a more illustrious possessor of a contemptible fortune, than if I could be said to treasure up in my granaries all that the industrious Apulian cultivates, poor amidst abundance of wealth. A rivulet of clear water, and a wood of a few acres, and a certain prospect of my good crop,[64]

precautions were of no effect; for Prœtus, the king's brother, finding means to corrupt the guards, got access to Danaë, who did not long resist his solicitations: which, as soon as her father knew, he caused her to be shut up in a chest, and cast her into the sea, with her son Perseus. But being found by a poor fisherman of Apulia, she was carried to king Pilumnus, who afterwards married her. When her son Perseus came to be of age, and had cut off the Gorgon's head, he went to Argos, and turned his grandfather Acrisius into a stone. WATSON.

[62] Eriphile discovered to her brother Edrastus, where her husband Amphiaraus had concealed himself, that he might not be obliged to go to the war of Thebes, from whence he knew that he should never return. She received a necklace of pearl as the price of her treachery; and Amphiaraus went to the siege, where he was slain. Her son Alcmæon, in revenge for his father, put her to death, and he was afterwards killed by his uncles in vengeance for their sister. Thus Horace justly says, that the avarice of one woman was the ruin of the whole family. LAMB.

[63] Philip was advised by the oracle of Apollo to fight with golden spears, and it was one of his maxims, that no fortress was impregnable into which an ass could enter laden with gold. FRAN.

[64] *Segetis fides.* This passage is particularly difficult, yet deserves to be carefully explained. First, *rivus*, *sylva*, and *fides* are all to be applied to one common verb *fallit*, a manner of writing very usual in Horace. Secondly, *Africæ* is governed both of *imperio* and *sorte*. *Fulgens imperio Africæ* is a paraphrase for the proconsul of Africa, and *sors Africæ* signifies the proconsulship or government of that province. The Latins

are blessings unknown to him who glitters in the proconsulship of fertile Africa: I am more happily circumstanced. Though neither the Calabrian bees produce honey, nor wine ripens to age for me in a Formian cask, nor rich fleeces increase in Gallic pastures; yet distressful poverty is remote; nor, if I desired more, would you refuse to grant it me. I shall be better able to extend my small revenues,[65] by contracting my desires, than if I could join the kingdom of Alyattes to the Phrygian plains. Much is wanting to those who covet much. 'Tis well with him, to whom God has given what is necessary with a sparing hand.

## ODE XVII.

TO ÆLIUS LAMIA.

O ÆLIUS, who art nobly descended from the ancient Lamus (forasmuch as they report, that both the first of the Lamian family had their name hence, and all the race of the descendants through faithful records derives its origin from that founder, who is said to have possessed, as prince, the Formian walls, and Liris gliding on the shores of Marica—an exten-

usually said *sors Africæ; sors Macedoniæ; sors Provinciarum;* because their governments were determined by lot. Lastly, *fallit* does not signify *latet* or *ignoratur*, but *opinione suâ decipit.* The terms being thus explained, the construction must be thus, *ager meus Sabinus beatior Africâ sorte obtentâ fallit Africæ proconsulem.* The proconsul was indebted to chance for his magistracy; Horace owed his farm to the friendship of Mæcenas. The proconsul believes himself more happy than Horace; but he is deceived, because he is ignorant, that great revenues and happiness are very different things. Perhaps our poet intended a stroke of satire upon the person who was then governor of Africa, and who might have owed, like him, his fortune to Mæcenas. BENTL. SAN. See Orelli and M'Caul.

[65] *Vectigalia porrigam.* We shall only be capable of explaining this passage by regularly pursuing the poet's reasoning. "By contracting my desires I shall more largely extend my little fortune, than if I could unite the kingdoms of Lydia and Phrygia under my government." *Vectigalia* signifies the revenues or income of an estate, and may not improperly be used for the estate itself, which the poet thus enlarges by contracting his desires. The word *porrigere* frequently signifies, in the best authors, to extend, to stretch out, to enlarge. FRAN.

sive potentate). To-morrow a tempest sent from the east shall strew the grove with many leaves, and the shore with useless sea-weed, unless that old prophetess of rain, the raven, deceives me. Pile up the dry wood, while you may; to-morrow you shall indulge your genius with wine, and with a pig of two months old, with your slaves dismissed from their labours.

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## ODE XVIII.[66]

### TO FAUNUS.

A HYMN.

O FAUNUS, thou lover of the flying nymphs, benignly traverse my borders and sunny fields, and depart[67] propitious to the young offspring of my flocks;[68] if a tender kid fall [a victim] to thee at the completion of the year, and plenty of wines be not wanting to the goblet, the companion of Venus, and the ancient altar smoke with liberal perfume. All the cattle sport in the grassy plain, when the nones of December return

[66] The poet invokes the presence of Faunus, and seeks to propitiate the favour of the god towards his fields and flocks. He then describes the rustic hilarity of the day, made sacred, at the commencement of winter, to this rural divinity. Faunus had two festivals, (*Faunalia,*) one on the None (5th) of December, after all the produce of the year had been stored away, and when the god was invoked to protect it, and to give health and fecundity to the flocks and herds; and another in the beginning of the spring, when the same deity was propitiated by sacrifices; that he might preserve and foster the grain committed to the earth. This second celebration took place on the Ides (13th) of February. ANTHON.

[67] The Romans believed, that many of their gods passed their winter in one country and their summer in another. Faunus was of this number. He went from Arcadia to Italy the 13th of February, and returned the 5th of December. His departure and return were celebrated with sacrifices, and probably this ode was written for his December festival, from whence the poet says *abeas*. DAC.

[68] *Parvis æquus alumnis.* The vulgar believed that this god sent phantoms and spectres to disturb their infants in the night; and upon this foundation the commentators imagine that Horace entreats him to spare the children of his domestics. But by *alumnis*, the poet means the younglings of his flocks, which had most occasion for the protection of the god, to preserve them against the inclemency of the approaching winter. BOND.

to thee; the village keeping holiday enjoys leisure in the fields, together with the oxen free from toil. The wolf wanders among the fearless lambs; the wood scatters its rural leaves for thee, and the labourer rejoices to have beaten the hated ground in triple dance.

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## ODE XIX.[69]

TO TELEPHUS.

How far Codrus, who was not afraid to die for his country, is removed from Inachus, and the race of Æacus, and the battles also that were fought at sacred Troy—[these subjects] you descant upon: but at what price we may purchase a hogshead of Chian; who shall warm the water [for bathing]; who finds a house; and at what hour I am to get rid of these Pelignian colds, you are silent. Give me, boy, [a bumper] for the new moon in an instant, give me one for midnight, and one for Murena[70] the augur.[71] Let our goblets be mixed

[69] A party of friends, among whom was Horace, intended to celebrate, by a feast of contribution (ἔρανος), the recent appointment of Murena to the office of augur. Telephus, one of the number, was conspicuous for his literary labours, and had been for some time occupied in composing a history of Greece. At a meeting of these friends, held as a matter of course in order to make arrangements for the approaching banquet, it may be supposed that Telephus, wholly engrossed with his pursuits, had introduced some topic of an historical nature, much to the annoyance of the bard. The latter therefore breaks out, as it were, with an exhortation to his companion, to abandon matters so foreign to the subject under discussion, and attend to things of more immediate importance. Presently, fancying himself already in the midst of the feasts, he issues his edicts as symposiarch, and regulates the number of cups to be drunk in honour of the Moon, of Night, and of the augur Murena. Then, as if impatient of delay, he bids the music begin, and orders the roses to be scattered. The ode terminates with a gay allusion to Telephus. ANTH. This ode was evidently written before 732, in which year Murena, with Fannius Cepio, conspired against Augustus. ORELL.

[70] Murena. This is the same Lucinius Murena, who was brother-in-law to Mæcenas, and afterwards conspired against Augustus. WATSON.

[71] The college of augurs was instituted at Rome by Numa. They were at first only four in number, all patricians. The commons being afterwards admitted to the same honour, they were increased to nine. In fine, Sylla added six more, and made the number fifteen. It was an

up with three or nine cups, according to every one's disposition. The enraptured bard, who delights in the odd-numbered muses, shall call for brimmers thrice three. Each of the Graces,[72] in conjunction with the naked sisters, fearful of broils, prohibits upwards of three. It is my pleasure to rave;[73] why cease the breathings of the Phrygian flute? Why is the pipe hung up with the silent lyre? I hate your niggardly handfuls: strew roses freely. Let the envious Lycus hear the jovial noise; and let our fair neighbour, ill-suited to the old Lycus, [hear it]. The ripe Rhode aims at thee, Telephus, smart with thy bushy locks; at thee, bright as the clear evening-star; the love of my Glycera slowly consumes me.

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## ODE XX.

### TO PYRRHUS.

Do you not perceive, O Pyrrhus, at what hazard you are taking away the whelps from a Getulian lioness? In a little while you, a timorous ravisher, shall fly from the severe engagement, when she shall march through the opposing band of youths, re-demanding her beauteous Nearchus; a grand contest, whether a greater share of booty shall fall to thee or to her! In the mean time, while you produce your swift arrows, she whets her terrific teeth; while the umpire of the combat is reported to have placed the palm under his naked foot, and refreshed his shoulder, overspread with his perfumed locks, with the gentle breeze: just such another was Nireus, or he that was ravished from the watery Ida.[74]

office of the highest consideration, because it was in their power to render fruitless all the resolutions and debates of the senate and people. WATSON.

[72] *Gratia:* "tres Gratiæ junctæ." Od. iv. 7, 5, "Gratia cum nymphis geminisque sororibus." Od. i. 30, 5, "solutis Gratiæ zonis." ORELLI.

[73] *Insanire juvat.* Horace now leaves the two modest Graces, and rises in his good humour; for after having ordered a certain number of glasses, he now drinks without number or measure. CRUQ.

[74] Mount Ida; a high hill in Phrygia, not far from Troy, famous for the controversy of Pallas, Juno, and Venus, about the apple of discord, which was adjudged to Venus by Paris. WATSON.

## ODE XXI.

TO HIS JAR.

O THOU goodly cask, that wast brought to light at the same time with me in the consulship of Manlius, whether thou containest the occasion of complaint, or jests, or broils and maddening amours, or gentle sleep; under whatever title thou preservest the choice Massic, worthy to be removed on an auspicious day; descend,[75] Corvinus bids me draw the mellowest wine. He, though he is imbued in the Socratic lectures, will not morosely reject thee. The virtue even of old Cato is recorded to have been frequently warmed with wine. Thou appliest a gentle violence to that disposition, which is in general of the rougher cast. Thou revealest the cares and secret designs of the wise, by the assistance of merry Bacchus. You restore hope and spirit to anxious minds,[76] and give horns[77] to the poor man, who after [tasting] you neither dreads the diadems of enraged monarchs, nor the weapons of the soldiers. Thee Bacchus, and Venus, if she comes in good humour, and the Graces loth to dissolve the knot [of their union],[78] and living lights shall prolong, till returning Phœbus puts the stars to flight.

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## ODE XXII.

TO DIANA.

O VIRGIN, protectress of the mountains and the groves, thou

[75] The Romans had their wine-cellars at the top of their houses, that their wines might ripen sooner by the smoke. CRUQ.

[76] *Tormentum ingenio admoves.* "You offer an agreeable violence to the mind." It is a metaphor taken from war, when a town was assaulted with batteries and machines. Others understand it of giving the torture to criminals to force a secret from them, and Doctor Bentley explains it, as if wine gave an eloquence and facility to the most heavy, barren understanding. FRAN.

[77] The expression *cornua addis* is one of a proverbial character. Consult note on Ode ii. 19, 29. The "horn," was the symbol of power among all the eastern nations. See 1 Samuel ii. 1; Luke i. 69. ANTHON.

[78] i. e. "never dissolving it." Eurip. Hippol. 1147, χάριτες συζυγίαι. ORELLI.

three-formed goddess, who, thrice invoked,[79] hearest young women in labour, and savest them from death; sacred to thee be this pine that overshadows my villa, which I, at the completion of every year, joyful will present with the blood of a boar-pig, just meditating his oblique attack.

## ODE XXIII.

### TO PHIDYLE.

My rustic Phidyle, if you raise your suppliant hands[80] to heaven at the new moon, and appease the household gods with frankincense, and this year's fruits,[81] and a ravening swine; the fertile vine shall neither feel the pestilential south-west, nor the corn the barren blight, or your dear brood the sickly season in the fruit-bearing autumn.[82] For the destined victim, which is pastured in the snowy Algidus among the oaks and holm trees, or thrives in the Albanian meadows, with its throat shall stain the axes of the priests. It is not required of you, who are crowning our little gods with rosemary and the brittle myrtle, to propitiate them with a great slaughter of sheep. If an innocent hand touches the altar, a magnificent victim does not pacify the offended Penates more acceptably, than a consecrated cake and crackling salt.

[79] *Ter vocata.* Horace mentions the number three, because it was always a mysterious number, or because women in labour invoked the goddess by three principal names. In the next line she is called *triformis*, as she was Luna in heaven, Diana upon earth, and Proserpine in hell; from whence she was painted with three heads, one, of a lion, another, of a bull, and the third, of a dog. San.

[80] This was the usual gesture of the ancients when they prayed; but with this difference, that when they addressed themselves to the celestial gods they held the palms of their hands upwards, as if to receive a blessing; but turned them towards the earth in their prayers to the infernal gods, as if to avert an evil. Cruq.

[81] *Horna*, i. e. "spicis hornotinis, hujus anni." Orelli.

[82] "Annus"="tempestas." Cf. Epod. ii. 39. Virg. Ecl. iii. 87.

## ODE XXIV.

### TO THE COVETOUS.[83]

THOUGH, more wealthy than the unrifled treasures of the Arabians and rich India, you should possess yourself by your edifices[84] of the whole Tyrrhenian and Apulian seas; yet, if cruel fate fixes its adamantine grapples upon the topmost roofs, you shall not disengage your mind from dread, nor your life from the snares of death.[85] The Scythians that dwell in the plains, whose carts, according to their custom, draw their vagrant habitations, live in a better manner; and [so do] the rough Getæ, whose uncircumscribed acres produce fruits and corn free to all, nor is a longer than annual tillage agreeable, and a successor relieves him who has accomplished his labour by an equal right. There the guiltless wife spares her motherless step-children, nor does the portioned spouse govern her husband, or put any confidence in a sleek adulterer. Their dower is the high virtue of their parents, and a chastity reserved from any other man by a stedfast security; and it is forbidden to sin, or the reward is death. O if there be any one willing to remove our impious slaughters, and civil rage; if he be desirous to be written FATHER OF THE STATE, on statues [erected to him], let him dare to curb insuperable licentiousness, and be eminent to posterity; since we (O injustice!) detest virtue while living, but invidiously seek for her after she is taken out of our view. To what purpose are our woeful complaints, if sin is not cut off with punishment? Of what efficacy are empty laws, without morals; if neither that part of the world which is shut in by fervent heats, nor that side which borders upon Boreas, and snows hard-

[83] It appears by the twenty-sixth verse, that this ode was written before the year 724, which ended the civil wars; at least it preceded the expedition of Arabia in 727. SAN.

[84] The term *cæmenta*, quasi *cædimenta*, literally means "stones for filling up." Here, however, it refers to the structures reared on these artificial foundations.

[85] The poet here represents death armed with a net, which he throws over the heads of those whom he attacks. This image is taken from the gladiators called *Retiarii*, whose antagonists had the figure of a fish upon their helmet, from whence they used in their combats to sing "Non te peto, piscem peto? Quid me fugis, Galle?" DAC.

ened upon the ground, keep off the merchant; [and] the expert sailors get the better of the horrible seas? Poverty, a great reproach, impels us both to do and to suffer any thing, and deserts the path of difficult virtue. Let us, then, cast our gems and precious stones and useless gold, the cause of extreme evil, either into the Capitol, whither the acclamations and crowd of applauding [citizens] call us, or into the adjoining ocean. If we are truly penitent for our enormities, the very elements of depraved lust are to be erased, and the minds of too soft a mould should be formed by severer studies. The noble youth knows not how to keep his seat on horseback,[86] and is afraid to go a hunting, more skilled to play (if you choose it) with the Grecian trochus,[87] or dice, prohibited by law;[88] while the father's perjured faith can deceive his partner and friend, and he hastens to get money for an unworthy heir. In a word, iniquitous wealth increases, yet something is ever wanting to the incomplete fortune.

## ODE XXV.[89]

### TO BACCHUS.

A DITHYRAMBIC.

WHITHER,[90] O Bacchus, art thou hurrying me, replete with

[86] To remedy this evil, Augustus revived the mock-fights, which were carried by Ascanius to Italy, and which afterwards continued to the time of Claudius Cæsar. FRAN.

[87] At the Grecian trochus. It was formerly thought that this was the same with the play of the top, or rather that of billiards; but this notion is now generally exploded. The trochus was properly an iron hoop, of five or six feet diameter, set round with rings. Kennet, in his Roman Antiquities, tell us, that the boys and young men used to whirl this along, as our children do wooden hoops, directing it with a rod of iron, having a wooden handle; which rod the Grecians called ἐλατήρ, and the Romans radius. There was need of great dexterity to guide the hoop right. In the mean time, the rings, by the clattering which they made, not only gave the people notice to keep out of the way; but contributed very much to the boys' diversion. WATSON.

[88] All games of hazard were forbidden by several laws, except during the Saturnalia. FRAN.

[89] As to the date of this ode, we can only be assured, that it was composed before the consecration of Octavius, and perhaps it was written for his consecration, in the year 725. SAN.

[90] The poet, recovering from the strong influence of the god, and sur-

your influence? Into what groves, into what recesses am I driven, actuated with uncommon spirit? In what caverns, meditating the immortal honour of illustrious Cæsar, shall I be heard enrolling him among the stars and the council of Jove? I will utter something extraordinary, new, hitherto unsung by any other voice. Thus the sleepless Bacchanal is struck with enthusiasm, casting her eyes upon Hebrus, and Thrace bleached with snow, and Rhodope traversed by the feet of barbarians. How am I delighted in my rambles, to admire the rocks and the desert grove! O lord of the Naiads and the Bacchanalian women, who are able with their hands to overthrow lofty ash-trees;[91] nothing little, nothing low, nothing mortal will I sing. Charming is the hazard, O Bacchus, to accompany the god, who binds his temples with the verdant vine-leaf.

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## ODE XXVI.

### TO VENUS.

I LATELY lived a proper person for girls, and campaigned it not without honour; but now this wall, which guards the left side of [the statue] of sea-born Venus, shall have my arms[92]

veying with alarm the arduous nature of the theme to which he has dared to approach, compares himself to the Bacchant, whom the stern power of the deity, which she serves, has driven onward, in that blind career, through many a strange and distant region. Awakening from the deep slumber into which exhausted nature had at length been compelled to sink, she finds herself, when returning recollection comes to her aid, on the remote mountain-tops, far from her native scenes, and gazes in silent wonder on the prospect before her; the dark Hebrus, the snow-clad fields of Thrace, and the chain of Rhodope rearing its summits to the skies. Few passages can be cited from any ancient or modern writer containing more of the true spirit of poetry. ANTHON.

[91] Probably alluding to the story of Pentheus. Cf. Eur. Bacch. 1109.

[92] Ovid tells us, that every lover is a soldier, *militat omnis amans;* and as the ancients were accustomed to consecrate their arms to Mars, when they quitted the trade of war; so the poet here dedicates to Venus his lyre, his torches, and bows. He hangs up his midnight arms upon the eastern wall of her temple, on the left side of the goddess; for the statues of the gods were placed in such a manner as to look towards the south; so that the east, which was always esteemed the happy quarter of the heavens, was upon their left hand. LAMB.

and my lyre discharged from warfare. Here, here, deposit the shining flambeaux, and the wrenching irons, and the bows, that threatened the resisting doors. O thou goddess, who possessest the blissful Cyprus, and Memphis free from Sithonian snow, O queen, give the haughty Chloe one cut with your high-raised lash.

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## ODE XXVII.

### TO GALATEA, UPON HER GOING TO SEA.

LET the omen of the noisy screech-owl and a pregnant bitch, or a tawny wolf running down from the Lanuvian fields, or a fox with whelp conduct the impious [on their way]; may the serpent also break their undertaken journey, if, like an arrow athwart the road, it has frightened the horses. What shall I, a provident augur, fear? I will invoke from the east, with my prayers, the raven foreboding by his croaking, before the bird, which presages impending showers, revisits the stagnant pools. Mayest thou be happy, O Galatea, wheresoever thou choosest to reside, and live mindful of me: and neither the unlucky pye nor the vagrant crow forbids your going on. But you see, with what an uproar the prone Orion hastens on: I know[93] what the dark bay of the Adriatic is, and in what manner Iäpyx, [seemingly] serene, is guilty. Let the wives and children of our enemies feel the blind tumults of the rising south, and the roaring of the blackened sea, and the shores trembling with its lash. Thus too Europa[94] trusted her fair side to the deceitful bull, and bold as she was, turned pale at the sea abounding with monsters, and the cheat now become manifest. She, who lately in the meadows was busied

[93] Horace knew the Adriatic Sea in his voyage to Athens, when he went to study philosophy there; and a second time, in his return to Italy, after the battle of Philippi. FRAN.

[94] Galatea was preparing to embark, because the skies were serene, and the seas calm; but Horace tells her that Europa was deceived by the same serenity of the skies and calmness of the seas; that she soon had reason to repent of her boldness, when she saw nothing round her but stars and waves. Such is the force and justness of the comparison. TORR.

about flowers, and a composer of the chaplet meet for nymphs, saw nothing in the dusky night but stars and water. Who as soon as she arrived at Crete, powerful with its hundred cities, cried out, overcome with rage, "O father, name abandoned by thy daughter![95] O my duty! Whence, whither am I come? One death is too little for virgins' crime. Am I awake, while I deplore my base offence; or does some vain phantom, which, escaping[96] from the ivory gate, brings on a dream, impose upon me, still free from guilt? Was it better to travel over the tedious waves, or to gather the fresh flowers? If any one now would deliver up to me in my anger this infamous bull, I would do my utmost to tear him to pieces with steel, and break off the horns of the monster, lately so much beloved. Abandoned I have left my father's house, abandoned I procrastinate my doom. O if any of the gods hear this, I wish I may wander naked among lions: before foul decay seizes my comely cheeks, and moisture leaves this tender prey, I desire, in all my beauty, to be the food of tigers." "Base Europa," thy absent father urges, "why do you hesitate to die? you may strangle[97] your neck suspended from this ash, with your girdle that has commodiously attended you. Or if a precipice, and the rocks that are edged with death, please you, come on, commit yourself to the rapid storm; unless you, that are of blood-royal, had rather card your mistress's wool,[98] and be given up as a concubine to some barbarian dame." As she complained, the treacherously-smiling Venus, and her son, with his bow relaxed, drew near. Presently, when she had sufficiently rallied her, "Refrain (she cried) from your rage and passionate chidings, since this detested bull shall surrender his horns to be torn in pieces by

[95] "Filiæ" is a Grecism for "a filia."

[96] Dreams of falsehood, according to Homer, passed through an ivory gate in the infernal world; and those of truth through a gate of horn. FRAN.

[97] Hanging was the common death of ancient heroines in tragedy and history. Arsace, in Heliodorus; Jocasta and Antigone, in Sophocles; Phædra, in Euripides; Amata, in Virgil; and the wife of Mithridates, in Plutarch, died in this manner. DAC.

[98] *Pensum* was properly a certain quantity of wool, which was every day given to female slaves for their task. It was weighed, from whence it was called *pensum*, which afterwards became a name for any regular and ordinary work. From hence the proverb *persolvere pensum*, to do our duty. CRUQ.

you. Are you ignorant, that you are the wife of the invincible Jove? Cease your sobbing; learn duly to support your distinguished good fortune. A division of the world shall bear your name.

## ODE XXVIII.

### TO LYDE.

WHAT can I do better on the festal day of Neptune? Quickly [99] produce, Lyde, the hoarded Cæcuban, and make an attack upon wisdom, ever on her guard. You perceive the noontide is on its decline; and yet, as if the fleeting day stood still, you delay to bring out of the store-house the loitering cask, [that bears its date] from the consul Bibulus. We will sing by turns, Neptune, and the green locks of the Nereïds; you shall chant, on your wreathed lyre, Latona and the darts of the nimble Cynthia; at the conclusion of your song, she also [shall be celebrated], who with her yoked swans visits Gnidos, and the shining Cyclades, and Paphos: the night also shall be celebrated in a suitable lay.

## ODE XXIX.

### TO MÆCENAS.

O MÆCENAS, thou progeny of Tuscan kings, there has been a long while for you in my house some mellow wine in an unbroached [100] hogshead, with rose-flowers and expressed essence for your hair. Disengage yourself from any thing that may retard you, nor contemplate the ever marshy Tibur, and the sloping fields of Æsula, and the hills of Telegonus the parricide. Leave abundance, which is the source of daintiness, and yon pile of buildings approaching near the lofty clouds:

[99] "Strenua" is taken adverbially, = "actively."

[100] The ancients placed their casks upon the bottom, and were therefore obliged to bend them forward when they poured out their wine. *Cadum vertere* and *crateras vertere* are expressions of the same kind. TORR.

cease to admire the smoke, and opulence, and noise of flourishing Rome.[101] A change is frequently agreeable to the rich, and a cleanly meal in the little cottage of the poor has smoothed an anxious brow without carpets or purple. Now the bright father of Andromeda displays his hidden fire; now Procyon rages, and the constellation of the ravening Lion, as the sun brings round the thirsty season. Now the weary shepherd with his languid flock seeks the shade, and the river, and the thickets of rough Sylvanus; and the silent bank is free from the wandering winds. You regard what constitution may suit the state, and are in an anxious dread for Rome, what preparations the Seres and the Bactrians subject to Cyrus, and the factious Tanaïs[2] are making. A wise deity shrouds in obscure darkness the events of the time to come, and smiles if a mortal is solicitous beyond the law of nature. Be mindful to manage duly that which is present. What remains goes on in the manner of the river, at one time calmly gliding in the middle of its channel to the Tuscan Sea, at another, rolling along corroded stones, and stumps of trees forced away, and cattle, and houses, not without the noise of mountains and neighbouring woods, when the merciless deluge enrages the peaceful waters. That man is master of himself and shall live happy, who has it in his power to say, "I have lived to-day: to-morrow let the Sire invest the heaven, either with a black cloud, or with clear sunshine; nevertheless he shall not render ineffectual what is past, nor undo or annihilate what the fleeting hour has once carried off. Fortune, happy in the execution of her cruel office, and persisting to play her insolent game, changes uncertain honours, indulgent now to me, by and by to another. I praise her, while she abides by me. If she moves her fleet wings, I resign[3] what she has bestowed, and wrap myself up in my

[101] We may compute how great the noise of a city must have been, which reckoned three millions of inhabitants; whose circuit, according to Pliny, including the suburbs, was forty-eight miles; and where the houses might be raised seven stories, each of them ten foot high. Lampridius tells us, that Heliogabalus collected ten thousand pound weight of cobwebs in Rome. FRAN.

[2] The Scythians and Sarmatians, who bordered upon this river, were frequently engaged in wars with each other, from whence the poet calls it *discors*. LAMB.

[3] *Resigno quæ dedit*—is a figurative expression. *Resignare* properly signifies to *unseal* or *open*, in opposition to *signare*. It is here to be understood, *reddere*, *restituere*, to restore. LAMB.

virtue, and court honest poverty without a portion. It is no business of mine, if the mast groan with the African storms, to have recourse to piteous prayers,[4] and to make a bargain with my vows, that my Cyprian and Syrian merchandise may not add to the wealth of the insatiable sea. Then the gale and the twin Pollux will carry me safe in the protection of a skiff with two oars, through the tumultuous Ægean Sea.

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## ODE XXX.

### ON HIS OWN WORKS.

I HAVE completed a monument more lasting than brass, and more sublime than the regal elevation of pyramids, which neither the wasting shower, the unavailing north-wind, nor an innumerable succession of years, and the flight of seasons, shall be able to demolish. I shall not wholly die; but a great part of me shall escape Libitina.[5] I shall continually be renewed in the praises of posterity, as long as the priest shall ascend the Capitol with the silent [vestal] virgin. Where the rapid Aufidus shall murmur, and where Daunus,[6] poorly supplied with water, ruled over a rustic people, I, exalted from a low degree, shall be acknowledged as having originally adapted the Æolic verse[7] to Italian measures. Melpomene, assume that pride which your merits have acquired, and willingly crown my hair with the Delphic laurel.

[4] These conditional prayers, which virtue blushes for, and which the gods disregard, are by Plato called Τέχνας ἐμπορικάς, a merchant's traffic; and by Persius, *preces emaces*, prayers of purchase. FRANCIS.

[5] This was the goddess who presided over funerals. She is called *Venus inferna* or *Epitymbia*, in some ancient epitaphs, and reckoned among the infernal deities. A place in Rome, as the ancient Scholiast informs us, was called *Libitina*, where the undertaker lived, who received a certain piece of money for every person who was buried, from whence they knew the number of their dead. FRANCIS.

[6] This Daunus was the son of Pilumnus and Danaë. He reigned over Daunia, and gave his name to the country. WATSON.

[7] In this poem, which ought to be the last of his lyric works, the poet shows that he has preserved his resolution of imitating Alcæus and Sappho, which he mentioned in his first ode. Nor is it probable, that he could have so frequently boasted of being the first who formed himself upon an imitation of the Grecian poets, if the public had not in general acknowledged his claim. SAN.

# THE FOURTH BOOK

OF THE

# ODES OF HORACE.

## ODE I.

TO VENUS.

AFTER a long cessation, O Venus, again are you stirring up tumults? Spare me, I beseech you, I beseech you! I am not the man I was under the dominion of good-natured[1] Cynara. Forbear, O cruel mother of soft desires, to bend one bordering upon fifty, now too hardened for soft commands: go, whither the soothing prayers of youths invoke you. More seasonably may you revel in the house of Paulus Maximus, flying[2] thither with your splendid swans, if you seek to inflame a suitable breast. For he is both noble and comely, and by no means silent in the cause of distressed defendants, and a youth of a hundred accomplishments; he shall bear the ensigns of your warfare far and wide; and whenever, more

[1] *Bonæ.* Horace appears to intimate by this epithet, that the affection entertained for him by Cynara, was rather pure and disinterested than otherwise. The word is often used in the sense of "generous," "unrapacious." Comp. Tibull. ii. 4, 45, "At bona, quæ nec avara fuit." ANTHON.

[2] *Purpureis ales oloribus.* The allusion is to the chariot of Venus, drawn by swans; and hence the term *ales* is, by a bold and beautiful figure, applied to the goddess herself, meaning literally "winged." As regards *purpureis*, it must be remarked that the ancients called any strong and vivid colour by the name of *purpureus*, because that was their richest colour. Thus we have *purpureæ comæ*, *purpureus capillus*, *lumen juventæ purpureum*, &c. Compare Virgil, Æn. i. 591. Albinovanus (El. ii. 62) even goes so far as to apply the term to *snow*. The usage of modern poetry is not dissimilar. Thus Spencer, "The Morrow next appeared with purple hair;" and Milton, "waves his purple wings." So also Gray, "The bloom of young desire and purple light of love." WHEELER.

prevailing than the ample presents of a rival, he shall laugh [at his expense], he shall erect thee in marble under a citron dome near the Alban lake. There you shall smell abundant frankincense, and shall be charmed with the mixed music of the lyre and Berecynthian pipe,[3] not without the flageolet. There the youths, together with the tender maidens,[4] twice a day celebrating your divinity, shall, Salian-like, with white foot thrice shake the ground. As for me, neither woman, nor youth, nor the fond hope of a mutual inclination, nor to contend in wine, nor to bind my temples with fresh flowers, delight me [any longer]. But why; ah! why, Ligurinus, does the tear every now and then trickle down my cheeks? Why does my fluent tongue falter between my words with an unseemly silence? Thee in my dreams by night I clasp, caught [in my arms]; thee flying across the turf of the Campus Martius; thee I pursue, O cruel one, through the rolling waters.

## ODE II.

### TO ANTONIUS IULUS.[5]

WHOEVER endeavours, O Iülus, to rival Pindar, makes an effort on wings fastened with wax by art Dædalean,[6] about

[3] The music in the temples was usually composed of a voice, one lyre, one or two flutes, and a flageolet. There was at Delos a statue of Apollo, who held in his left hand his bow and arrows, and on his right the three Graces, each with an instrument in her hand. The first held a lyre, the second, a flageolet, and the third, a flute. FRANCIS.

[4] The ancients had not any children educated to sing in their temples, nor employed any theatrical performers, but chose from the best families a certain number of young people of both sexes, who sung until others were elected to succeed them. DAC.

[5] Julius Antonius, to whom the present ode is addressed, was the second son of M. Antonius the triumvir, by Fulvia, born about A. U. C. 710. He was brought up by Octavia, whose daughter Marcella he married. He was honoured with the prætorship, A. U. C. 741, and the consulate, 744. In 752, he was guilty of a gross outrage on the family of Augustus, by committing adultery with Julia. Julia was banished, consequently, to the island Pandateria, and Julius put himself to death by order of Augustus. "Iulius Antonius rogaverat Horatium, ut scripta Pindari Græca in laudem Cæsaris transferet." Schol. ANTHON.

[6] Dædalus. A most ingenious artificer, so famous, that when we would

to communicate his name to the glassy sea. Like a river pouring down from a mountain, which sudden rains have increased beyond its accustomed banks, such the deep-mouthed Pindar rages and rushes on immeasurable, sure to merit Apollo's laurel, whether he rolls down new-formed phrases through the daring dithyrambic, and is borne on in numbers exempt from rule: whether he sings the gods, and kings, the offspring of the gods, by whom the Centaurs perished with a just destruction, [by whom] was quenched the flame of the dreadful Chimæra; or celebrates those whom the palm, [in the Olympic games] at Elis, brings home exalted to the skies, wrestler or steed, and presents them with a gift preferable to a hundred statues: or deplores some youth, snatched [by death] from his mournful bride—he elevates both his strength, and courage, and golden morals to the stars, and rescues him from the murky grave.[7] A copious gale elevates the Dircean swan, O Antonius, as often as he soars into the lofty regions of the clouds: but I, after the custom and manner of the Matinian bee, that laboriously gathers the grateful thyme, I, a diminutive creature, compose elaborate verses about the grove and the banks of the watery Tiber. You, a poet of sublimer style, shall sing of Cæsar, whenever, graceful in his well-earned laurel, he shall drag the fierce Sygambri[8] along the sacred hill; Cæsar, than whom nothing greater or better the fates and indulgent gods ever bestowed on the earth, nor will bestow, though the times should return to their primitive gold. You shall sing both the festal days, and the public rejoicings on account of the prayed-for return[9] of the brave

commend a thing for the curiousness of the work, we use the proverb *Dædali opera*. He lived in Crete, at the court of king Minos, by whose order he made the celebrated labyrinth, into which he was put himself, because he had discovered the windings and intricacies of it to Theseus. WATSON.

[7] i. e. from oblivion.

[8] *Sicambros*. This triumph, which the poet promises, and which was designed for the return of Augustus, was never carried into execution. To avoid the honours intended for him, he entered Rome in the night, without informing the senate of his arrival. He went the next day to the Capitol, and, taking the laurels off his statues, placed them at the feet of Jupiter.

[9] During the absence of Augustus vows were made to the gods for his return, which the new consuls repeated in 741 by decree of the senate, as appears by medals and inscriptions. TORR.

Augustus, and the forum free from law-suits. Then (if I can offer any thing worth hearing) a considerable portion of my voice shall join [the general acclamation], and I will sing, happy at the reception of Cæsar, "O glorious day, O worthy thou to be celebrated." And while [the procession] moves along, shouts of triumph we will repeat, shouts of triumph the whole city [will raise], and we will offer frankincense to the indulgent gods. Thee ten bulls and as many heifers shall absolve; me, a tender steerling, that, having left his dam, thrives in spacious pastures for the discharge of my vows, resembling [by the horns on] his forehead the curved light of the moon, when she appears of three days old, in which part he has a mark of a snowy aspect, being of a dun colour over the rest of his body.

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## ODE III.

### TO MELPOMENE.

HIM, O Melpomene, upon whom at his birth thou hast once looked with favouring eye, the Isthmian contest shall not render eminent as a wrestler; the swift horse shall not draw him triumphant in a Grecian car; nor shall warlike achievement show[10] him in the Capitol, a general adorned with the Delian laurel, on account of his having quashed the proud threats of kings: but such waters as flow through the fertile Tiber, and the dense leaves of the groves, shall make him distinguished by the Æolian verse. The sons of Rome, the queen of cities, deign to rank me among the amiable band of poets; and now I am less carped at by the tooth of envy. O muse, regulating the harmony of the gilded shell! O thou, who canst immediately bestow, if thou please, the notes of the swan upon the mute fish! It is entirely by thy gift that I am marked out, as the

[10] The word *ostendet* is borrowed from the ceremonies and solemnities which were made for pomp and ostentation. The conqueror was shown in his triumph in the capital of the empire, where he received the homage of the world. *Ostentionalis miles*, signifies a soldier dressed for a review; *ostentionale vestimentum* is the habit which he wore. TORR.

stringer of the Roman lyre, by the fingers of passengers;[11] that I breathe, and give pleasure, (if I give pleasure,) is yours.

## ODE IV.

### THE PRAISES OF DRUSUS.[12]

LIKE[13] as the winged minister of thunder, (to whom Jupiter, the sovereign of the gods, has assigned the dominion over the fleeting birds, having experienced his fidelity in the affair of the beauteous Ganymede,) early youth and hereditary vigour have impelled from his nest unknowing of toil; and the vernal winds, the showers being now dispelled, taught him, still timorous, unwonted enterprises: in a little while a violent impulse despatched him, as an enemy against the sheepfolds; now an appetite for food and fight has impelled him upon the reluctant serpents;—or as a she-goat, intent on rich pastures, has beheld a young lion but just weaned from the udder of his tawny dam, ready to be devoured by his newly-grown tooth: such did the Rhæti and the Vindelici behold Drusus carrying on the war under the Alps; whence this people derived the custom, which has always prevailed among them, of arming their right hands with the Amazonian axe, I have purposely omitted to inquire: (neither is it possible to discover every thing.) But those troops, which had been for a long while and extensively victorious, being subdued by the conduct of a youth, perceived what a disposition, what a genius rightly educated under an auspicious roof, what the fatherly affection of Augustus[14] toward the young Neros, could effect. The

[11] Cf. Pers. Sat. i. 28, "At pulchrum est digito monstrari, et dicier Hic est."

[12] The victory of Drusus over the Vindelici was gained in the month of August, 739; but it was not celebrated until the return of Augustus in March, 741. Horace was then 53 years of age. SAN.

[13] The order of construction is as follows: "Qualem olim juventas et patrius vigor propulit nido inscium laborum alitem ministrum fulminis, cui Jupiter, rex deorum, permisit regnum in vagas aves, expertus (*eum*) fidelem in flavo Ganymede, venti, vernisque nimbis jam remotis, docuere paventem insolitos nisus; mox vividus impetus, &c.—(*talem*) Vindelici videre Drusum gerentem bella sub Rætis Alpibus." ANTHON.

[14] Tiberius Nero died in the same year in which he had yielded his

brave are generated by the brave and good; there is in steers, there is in horses, the virtue of their sires; nor do the courageous eagles procreate the unwarlike dove. But learning improves the innate force, and good discipline confirms the mind: whenever morals are deficient, vices disgrace what is naturally good. What thou owest, O Rome, to the Neros,[15] the river Metaurus[16] is a witness, and the defeated Asdrubal, and that day illustrious by the dispelling of darkness from Italy, and which first smiled with benignant victory;[17] when the terrible African rode through the Latian cities, like a fire through the pitchy pines, or the east wind through the Sicilian waves. After this the Roman youth increased continually in successful exploits, and temples, laid waste by the impious outrage of the Carthaginians, had the [statues of] their gods set up again. And at length the perfidious Annibal said; "We, like stags, the prey of rapacious wolves, follow of our own accord those, whom to deceive and escape is a signal triumph. That

wife Livia to Augustus, and by his last will named that prince not only a guardian of Tiberius, who was then four years old, but of Drusus, who was born three months after his mother was married to Augustus. In this manner the emperor was a second father to both the Neros. ED. DUBL.

[15] Claudius Nero, being encamped in Lucania, in view of Hannibal, went with six thousand foot and a thousand horse to join his colleague Salinator, and oppose the passage of Asdrubal, who was bringing a considerable reinforcement to his brother. This diligence preserved Italy; for Asdrubal was defeated near the river Metaurus; and Nero, returning to his camp before the Carthaginians perceived that he had been absent, ordered Asdrubal's head to be thrown into Hannibal's camp, who cried out, "Agnosco fortunam Carthaginis," I acknowledge the fate of Carthage.

Horace has chosen this action, not only because it was one of the most important performed by the family, but because Drusus and Tiberius were descended from both those consuls. ED. DUBL.

[16] *The river Metaurus.* Asdrubal, who was brother to Hannibal, and the same who had defeated the two Scipios in Spain, was sent from Carthage, with a powerful reinforcement, to join his brother in Italy. Claudius Nero, who was then encamped in Lucania, in sight of Hannibal, privately left his camp with 6000 foot and 1000 horse, and arriving in a few days in Umbria, joined his colleague Livius Salinator, who marching on together, and meeting with Asdrubal at the river Metaurus, defeated and slew him. Nero immediately returned, nor did the Carthaginians know of his departure, till he had caused the head of Asdrubal to be thrown into their camp. WATSON.

[17] *Almâ risit adoreâ. Adorea* was properly a distribution of corn, which was made to the soldiers after a victory, from whence it was used for victory itself. FRAN.

nation, which, tossed in the Etrurian waves, bravely transported their gods, and sons, and aged fathers, from the burned Troy to the Italian cities, like an oak lopped by sturdy axes in Algidum abounding in dusky leaves, through losses and through wounds derives strength and spirit from the very steel. The Hydra[18] did not with more vigour grow upon Hercules grieving to be overcome, nor did the Colchians, or the Echionian Thebes, produce a greater prodigy. Should you sink it in the depth, it will come out more beautiful: should you contend with it, with great glory will it overthrow the conqueror unhurt before, and will fight battles to be the talk of wives. No longer can I send boasting messengers to Carthage:[19] all the hope and success of my name is fallen, is fallen by the death of Asdrubal. There is nothing, but what the Claudian hands[20] will perform; which both Jupiter defends with his propitious divinity, and sagacious precaution conducts through the sharp trials of war."

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## ODE V.

TO AUGUSTUS.

O BEST guardian of the Roman[21] people, born under propitious gods, already art thou too long absent: after having promised

[18] Two prodigies, perfectly alike, were performed in two different countries. Jason sewed the teeth of a dragon in Colchis, and Cadmus did the same in Bœotia two hundred years afterwards. The teeth were instantly transformed into men, who destroyed each other. Echion, with four others, who remained of those sown by Cadmus, assisted him in building the walls of Thebes, whence the poet calls it *Echionia Thebæ*. CRUQ.

[19] After the battle of Cannæ, Hannibal sent his brother Mago to Carthage with the news of his victory. He talked in very pompous terms of Hannibal's success, and ordered all the rings which had been taken from the Roman knights to be thrown before the gate of the senate-house, that the senators might compute from thence the number of the slain. To this story the poet alludes. LAMB.

[20] It is no longer Hannibal who speaks, but the poet, who resumes the subject of his ode; nor are these words to be applied only to Claudius Nero, but to all his descendants, and particularly to Drusus. TORR.

[21] Cf. Virg. Æn. vii. 877, "Romula tellus."

a mature arrival[22] to the sacred council of the senators, return. Restore, O excellent chieftain, the light to thy country; for, like the spring, wherever thy countenance has shone, the day passes more agreeably for the people, and the sun has a superior lustre. As a mother, with vows, omens, and prayers, calls for her son, (whom the south wind with adverse gales detains from his sweet home, staying more than a year beyond the Carpathian Sea,) nor turns aside her looks from the curved shore; in like manner, inspired with loyal wishes, his country seeks for Cæsar. For, [under your auspices,] the ox in safety traverses the meadows: Ceres nourishes the ground, and abundant Prosperity: the sailors skim through the calm ocean: and Faith is in dread of being censured. The chaste family is polluted by no adulteries: morality and the law have got the better of that foul crime; the child-bearing women are commended for an offspring resembling [the father; and] punishment presses as a companion upon guilt. Who can fear the Parthian?[23] Who, the frozen Scythian? Who, the progeny that rough Germany produces, while Cæsar is in safety? Who cares for the war of fierce Spain? Every man puts a period to the day amidst his own hills, and weds the vine to the widowed elm-trees; hence he returns joyful to his wine, and invites you, as a deity, to his second course; thee, with many a prayer, thee he pursues with wine poured out [in libation] from the cups; and joins your divinity to that of his household gods, in the same manner as Greece was mindful of Castor and the great Hercules. May you, excellent chieftain, bestow a lasting festivity upon Italy! This is our language, when we are sober at the early day; this is our language, when we have well drunk, at the time the sun is beneath the ocean.

[22] Augustus was absent from Rome about two years and a half; and his promise of a speedy return made his absence more insupportable. SAN.

[23] Augustus had either subdued or reduced to peace the whole east, north, and west. The east is marked by Parthia; the north by Scythia and Germany; and the west by Spain. Dion reckons the reduction of Spain, by sending colonies thither, to be one of the happiest successes of Augustus in this expedition. SAN.

## ODE VI.

### HYMN TO APOLLO.

THOU god, whom the offspring of Niobe[24] experienced as avenger of a presumptuous tongue, and the ravisher Tityus, and also the Thessalian Achilles, almost the conqueror of lofty Troy, a warrior superior to all others, but unequal to thee; though, son of the sea-goddess, Thetis, he shook the Dardanian towers, warring with his dreadful spear. He, as it were a pine smitten with the biting axe, or a cypress prostrated by the east wind, fell extended far, and reclined his neck in the Trojan dust. He would not, by being shut up in a [wooden] horse, that belied the sacred rights of Minerva, have surprised the Trojans revelling in an evil hour, and the court of Priam making merry in the dance; but openly inexorable to his captives, (oh impious! oh!) would have burned speechless babes with Grecian fires, even him concealed in his mother's womb: had not the father of the gods, prevailed upon by thy entreaties and those of the beauteous Venus, granted to the affairs of Æneas walls founded under happier auspices. Thou lyrist Phœbus, tutor of the harmonious Thalia, who bathest thy locks in the river Xanthus, O delicate Agyieus, support the dignity of the Latian muse. Phœbus gave me genius, Phœbus the art of composing verse, and the title of poet. Ye virgins of the first distinction, and ye youths born of illustrious parents, ye wards of the Delian goddess, who stops with her bow the flying lynxes, and the stags, observe the Lesbian measure, and the motion of my thumb; duly celebrating the son of Latona, duly [celebrating] the goddess that enlightens the night with her shining crescent, propitious to the fruits, and expeditious in rolling on the precipitate months. Shortly

[24] This Niobe, says Lambinus, was the daughter of Tantalus, and wife of Amphion king of Thebes. She had twelve children, six males and as many females, of which she was so proud, as to reproach Latona for having only two, Apollo and Diana. The goddess, provoked at her insolence, complained to her own children, who killed all those of Niobe; Apollo, the males, and Diana, the females. Niobe, overwhelmed with grief for her loss, dissolved into tears. Jupiter, compassionating her miseries, converted her into a stone; from which were said to issue several springs of water. WATSON.

a bride you will say: "I, skilled in the measures of the poet Horace, recited an ode which was acceptable to the gods, when the secular period[25] brought back the festal days."

## ODE VII.

### TO TORQUATUS.

THE snows are fled, the herbage now returns to the fields, and the leaves to the trees. The earth changes its appearance, and the decreasing rivers glide along their banks: the elder Grace, together with the Nymphs, and her two sisters, ventures naked to lead off the dance. That you are not to expect things permanent, the year, and the hour that hurries away the agreeable day, admonish us. The colds are mitigated by the zephyrs: the summer follows close upon the spring, shortly to die itself, as soon as fruitful autumn shall have shed its fruits: and anon sluggish winter returns again. Nevertheless the quick-revolving moons repair their wanings in the skies; but when we descend [to those regions] where pious Æneas, where Tullus and the wealthy Ancus [have gone before us], we become dust and a mere shade. Who knows, whether the gods above will add to this day's reckoning the space of to-morrow? Every thing, which you shall indulge to your beloved soul,[26] will escape the greedy hands of your heir. When once, Torquatus,[27] you shall be dead,

[25] The Sæcular games were celebrated once every hundred and ten years. Before the Julian reformation of the calendar, the Roman was a lunar year, which was brought, or was meant to be brought, into harmony with the solar year, by the insertion of an intercalary month. Joseph Scaliger has shown that the principle was to intercalate a month, alternately of twenty-two and twenty-three days, every other year during periods of twenty-two years, in each of which periods such an intercalary month was inserted ten times, the last *biennium* being passed over. As five years made a *lustrum*, so five of these periods made a *sæculum* of one hundred and ten years. (Scaliger de Emendat. Temp. p. 80 sqq. Niebuhr's Roman History, vol. i. p. 334. Hare and Thirlwall's transl.) ANTHON.

[26] i. e. thyself. See Orelli.

[27] Torquatus was descended from Manlius, who, in a combat at Anio, defeated Uncagula the Gaul, and took a gold chain from his neck. WATSON.

and Minos shall have made his awful decisions concerning you; not your family, not your eloquence, not your piety shall restore you. For neither can Diana free the chaste Hippolytus[28] from infernal darkness; nor is Theseus[29] able to break off the Lethæan fetters from his dear Pirithous.[30]

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## ODE VIII.

### TO MARCIUS CENSORINUS.[31]

O CENSORINUS, liberally would I present my acquaintance with goblets and beautiful vases of brass; I would present them with tripods, the rewards of the brave Grecians: nor would you bear off the meanest of my donations, if I were rich in those pieces of art, which either Parrhasius[32] or Sco-

[28] Hippolytum. What the poet says of Hippolytus contradicts the fable; and what he adds of Theseus and Pirithous destroys his reasoning; since, although Theseus could not bring Pirithous from hell, yet Hercules delivered Theseus. Horace, through this whole ode, speaks like an Epicurean; and, according to Epicurus, all the popular opinions concerning Hippolytus, Theseus, Pirithous, and many others, were all pure chimæras and fables. SAN.

[29] Theseus, the son of Ægeus, king of Athens, and Æthera. He was related to Hercules, whose actions he imitated. He slew the Minotaur in Crete, and conquered the Amazons, and took their queen, Hippolyte, to wife, by whom he had Hippolytus. He subdued Thebes, worsted the Centaurs, and did other famous actions. He and Pirithous were a noble pair of friends. He died in the island of Paros. WATSON.

[30] Pirithous, the son of Ixion, who assisted Theseus against the Centaurs. They descended both together into hell, to carry off Proserpine; but were detained prisoners. Hercules descending some time after, and resolving to deliver these two princes, took Theseus by the hand, who did the same to Pirithous; but an earthquake happening, by which they were separated, Theseus only escaped, and Pirithous was left. WATSON.

[31] Censorinus. This was Caius Marcius Censorinus, who was consul with Asinius Gallus, in the year of the city 746. He was greatly esteemed at Rome, and accompanied Caius Cæsar, the grandson of Augustus, into Syria, where he died, eight years after the death of Horace. WATSON.

[32] Parrhasius was an Ephesian; he flourished about 400 B. C. He is celebrated for his admirable representation of a curtain, before the vine and grapes of Zeuxis, which deceived even the artistical eyes of the latter. Scopas was a native of Paros, born Olymp. 97. A Venus, Phaëton, and Apollo, are mentioned among his chief productions; but he is chiefly

pas produced; the latter in statuary, the former in liquid colours, eminent to portray at one time a man, at another a god. But I have no store of this sort, nor do your circumstances or inclination require any such curiosities as these. You delight in verses: verses I can give, and set a value on the donation. Not marbles engraved with public inscriptions,[33] by means of which breath and life returns to illustrious generals after their decease; not the precipitate flight of Annibal, and his menaces retorted upon his own head:[34] not the flames of impious Carthage * * * *[35] more eminently set forth his praises, who returned, having gained a name from conquered Africa,[36] than the Calabrian muses; neither, should writings be silent, would you have any reward for having done well. What would the son of Mars and Ilia be, if invidious silence had stifled the merits of Romulus? The force, and favour, and voice of powerful poets consecrate Æacus, snatched from the Stygian floods, to the Fortunate Islands. The muse forbids a praiseworthy man to die: the muse confers the happiness of heaven. Thus laborious Hercules has a place at the longed-for banquets of Jove: [thus] the sons of Tyndarus, that bright constellation, rescue shattered vessels from the bosom of the deep: [and thus] Bacchus, his temples adorned with the verdant vine-branch, brings the prayers of his votaries to successful issues.

celebrated for his exuberant fancy, and rich invention in depicting Bacchic subjects, whence the use of *protulit*, i. e. "ut inventor finxit," not "spectandas exposuit." ANTHON.

[33] *Notæ.* These are properly abbreviations, but are used here for inscriptions; such as S. P. Q. R. for *Senatus Populusque Romanus.* TORR.

[34] *Rejectæque retrorsum minæ.* The threats of Hannibal, driven back from Italy, when he was obliged to fly to the defence of Carthage. BOND.

[35] On this lacuna see the commentators.

[36] *Nomen ab Africâ lucratus.* Scipio was the first of the Romans who was honoured with the name of a conquered country. Sempronius Gracchus must be an unsuspected witness to his character, when he says, that he subdued Africa; defeated in Spain four of the most famous Carthaginian generals; took Syphax prisoner in Numidia; vanquished Hannibal; rendered Carthage tributary to Rome, and obliged Antiochus to retire on the other side of Mount Taurus. TORR.

## ODE IX.

### TO MARCUS LOLLIUS.[37]

LEST you for a moment imagine that those words will be lost, which I, born on the far-resounding Aufidus, utter to be accompanied with the lyre, by arts hitherto undivulged—If Mæonian Homer possesses the first rank, the Pindaric and Cean muses, and the menacing strains of Alcæus, and the majestic ones of Stesichorus,[38] are by no means obscure: neither, if Anacreon long ago sportfully sung any thing, has time destroyed it: even now breathes the love and live ardours of the Æolian maid, committed to her lyre. The Lacedæmonian Helen is not the only fair, who has been inflamed by admiring the delicate ringlets of a gallant, and garments embroidered with gold, and courtly accomplishments, and retinue: nor was Teucer the first that levelled arrows from the Cydonian bow: Troy was more than once harassed: the great Idomeneus and Sthenelus were not the only heroes that fought battles worthy to be recorded by the muses: the fierce Hector or the strenuous Deïphobus were not the first that received heavy blows in defence of virtuous wives and children. Many brave men lived before Agamemnon: but all of them, unlamented and unknown, are overwhelmed with endless obscurity, because they were destitute of a sacred bard. Valour, uncelebrated, differs but little from cowardice when in the grave. I will not [therefore], O Lollius, pass you over in silence, uncelebrated in my writings, or suffer envious forgetfulness with impunity to seize so many toils of thine.[39] You have a mind ever prudent in the con-

[37] Lollius. This Lollius is the same with him to whom he addresses the 2nd and 18th Epistles of the First Book. He was consul with Q. Æmilius Lepidus in the 732nd year of the city. WATSON.

[38] Stesichorus was of Himera in Sicily, and flourished about 610 years before Christ. WATSON.

[39] *Totve tuos patiar labores.* Lollius commanded the Roman legions in Germany, Thrace, and Galatia. In the German war he lost the eagle of the fifth legion, and his defeat was called the Lollian slaughter, *Lolliana clades;* but he soon revenged the affront, and obliged the Germans to repass the Rhine, to demand a peace, and deliver hostages. FRAN.

duct of affairs, and steady alike amidst success and trouble: you are an avenger of avaricious fraud, and proof against money, that attracts every thing; and a consul not of one year only, but as often as the good and upright magistrate has preferred the honourable to the profitable, and has rejected with a disdainful brow the bribes of wicked men,[40] and triumphant through opposing bands has displayed his arms. You cannot with propriety call him happy, that possesses much he more justly claims the title of happy, who understands how to make a wise use of the gifts of the gods, and how to bear severe poverty; and dreads a reproachful deed worse than death; such a man as this is not afraid to perish in the defence of his dear friends, or of his country.

## ODE X.

TO LIGURINUS.

O CRUEL still, and potent in the endowments of beauty, when an unexpected plume shall come upon your vanity, and those locks, which now wanton on your shoulders, shall fall off, and that colour, which is now preferable to the blossom of the damask rose, changed, O Ligurinus, shall turn into a wrinkled face; [then] will you say, (as often as you see yourself, [quite] another person in the looking-glass,) Alas! why was not my present inclination the same, when I was young? Or why do not my cheeks return, unimpaired, to these my present sentiments?

[40] "Rejects with disdainful brow the bribes of the guilty; and, victorious, makes for himself a way by his own arms amid opposing crowds." *Explicuit sua arma* may be rendered more literally, though less intelligibly, "displays his arms." The "opposing crowds" are the difficulties that beset the path of the upright man, as well from the inherent weakness of his own nature, as from the arts of the flatterer, and the machinations of secret foes. Calling, however, virtue and firmness to his aid, he employs these arms of purest temper against the host that surrounds him, and comes off victorious from the conflict. ED. DUBL.

## ODE XI.

### TO PHYLLIS.

PHYLLIS, I have a cask full of Albanian wine, upwards of nine years old; I have parsley in my garden, for the weaving of chaplets; I have a store of ivy, with which, when you have bound your hair, you look so gay: the house shines cheerfully with plate: the altar, bound with chaste vervain, longs to be sprinkled [with the blood] of a sacrificed lamb: all hands are busy: girls mingled with boys fly about from place to place: the flames quiver, rolling on their summit the sooty smoke.[41] But yet, that you may know to what joys you are invited, the Ides are to be celebrated by you, the day which divides April,[42] the month of sea-born Venus; [a day,] with reason to be solemnized by me, and almost more sacred to me than that of my own birth; since from this day my dear Mæcenas reckons his flowing years. A rich and buxom girl hath possessed herself of Telephus, a youth above your rank; and she holds him fast by an agreeable fetter. Consumed Phaëton strikes terror into ambitious hopes, and the winged Pegasus, not stomaching the earth-born rider Bellerophon, affords a terrible example, that you ought always to pursue things that are suitable to you, and that you should avoid a disproportioned match, by thinking it a crime to entertain a hope beyond what is allowable. Come then, thou last of my loves, (for hereafter I shall burn for no other woman,) learn with me such measures, as thou mayest recite with thy lovely voice: our gloomy cares shall be mitigated with an ode.

[41] The Greeks and Romans appear to have been unacquainted with the use of chimneys. The more common dwellings had merely an opening in the roof, which allowed the smoke to escape; the better class of edifices were warmed by means of pipes enclosed in the walls, and which communicated with a large stove, or several smaller ones, constructed in the earth under the building. Anthon interprets *vortice*, "from the house-top;" but the explanation of Orellius is preferable, "fumum celerrime torquentes ac glomerantes, ita ut ejus verticem efficiant." M'CAUL.

[42] *Mensem Veneris.* April was called the month of Venus, because her grand festival began on the first day of that month. SAN.

## ODE XII.

TO VIRGIL.

THE Thracian breezes, attendants on the spring, which moderate the deep, now fill the sails; now neither are the meadows stiff [with frost], nor roar the rivers swollen with winter's snow. The unhappy bird, that piteously bemoans Itys, and is the eternal disgrace of the house of Cecrops,[43] (because she wickedly revenged the brutal lusts of kings,) now builds her nest. The keepers of the sheep play tunes upon the pipe amidst the tender herbage, and delight that god, whom flocks and the shady hills of Arcadia delight. The time of year, O Virgil, has brought on a drought: but if you desire to quaff wine from the Calenian press, you, that are a constant companion of young noblemen, must earn your liquor by [bringing some] spikenard: a small box of spikenard shall draw out a cask, which now lies in the Sulpician store-house,[44] bounteous in the indulgence of fresh hopes, and efficacious in washing away the bitterness of cares. To which joys if you hasten, come instantly with your merchandise: I do not intend to dip you in my cups scot-free, like a man of wealth, in a house abounding with plenty. But lay aside delay, and the desire of gain; and, mindful of the gloomy [funeral] flames, intermix, while you may, your grave studies with a little light gaiety: it is delightful to give a loose on a proper occasion.

[43] *Cecropiæ domûs.* Cecrops was founder and first king of Athens; from him his successors, although not of his family, took the title of *Cecropidæ*. Horace therefore uses *the house of Cecrops* for the kings of Athens in general; thus we say *the Ptolemies* for the kings of Egypt, and *the Cæsars* for the emperors of Rome. TORR. DAC.

[44] *Sulpiciis horreis.* In the year 633 the Romans began to drink old wine, and several public-houses were erected where it was sold. These, which Horace mentions, either belonged to Sulpicius, or perhaps were built upon his estate. *Sulpicia* for *Sulpiciana horrea.* SAN.

## ODE XIII.

TO LYCE.

THE gods have heard my prayers, O Lyce; Lyce, the gods have heard my prayers; you are become an old woman, and yet you would fain seem a beauty; and you wanton and drink in an audacious manner; and when drunk, solicit tardy Cupid, with a quivering voice. He basks in the charming cheeks of the blooming Chia, who is a proficient on the lyre. The teasing urchin flies over blasted oaks, and starts back at the sight of you, because foul teeth, because wrinkles and snowy hair render you odious. Now neither Coan purples nor sparkling jewels restore those years, which winged time has inserted in the public annals. [Whither is your beauty gone?] Alas! or whither your bloom? Whither your graceful deportment? What have you [remaining] of her, of her, who breathed loves, and ravished me from myself? Happy next to Cynara, and distinguished for an aspect of graceful ways: but the fates granted a few years only to Cynara, intending to preserve for a long time Lyce, to rival in years the aged raven: that the fervid young fellows might see, not without excessive laughter, that torch, [which once so brightly scorched,] reduced to ashes.

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## ODE XIV.

TO AUGUSTUS.

WHAT zeal of the senators, or what of the Roman people, by decreeing the most ample honours, can eternize your virtues, O Augustus, by monumental inscriptions and lasting records? O thou, wherever the sun illuminates the habitable regions, greatest of princes, whom the Vindelici, that never experienced the Roman sway, have lately learned how powerful thou art in war! For Drusus, by means of your soldiery, has more than once bravely overthrown the Genauni, an implacable race, and the rapid Brenci, and the citadels si-

tuated on the tremendous Alps. The elder of the Neros soon after fought a terrible battle, and, under your propitious auspices, smote the ferocious Rhœti: how worthy of admiration in the field of battle, [to see] with what destruction he oppressed the brave hearts devoted to voluntary death: just as the south wind harasses the untameable waves, when the dance[45] of the Pleiades cleaves the clouds; [so is he] strenuous to annoy the troops of the enemy, and to drive his eager steed through the midst of flames. Thus the bull-formed Aufidus, who washes the dominions of the Apulian Daunus, rolls along, when he rages and meditates an horrible deluge to the cultivated lands; when Claudius overthrew with impetuous might the iron ranks of the barbarians, and by mowing down both front and rear strewed the ground, victorious without any loss; through your supplying him with troops, you with councils, and your own guardian powers.[46] For on that day, when the suppliant Alexandria opened her ports and deserted court, fortune, propitious to you in the third lustrum, has put a happy period to the war, and has ascribed praise and wished-for honour to the victories already obtained. O thou dread guardian of Italy and imperial Rome, thee the Spaniard,[47] till now unconquered, and the Mede, and the Indian, thee the vagrant Scythian admires; thee both the Nile, who conceals his fountain-heads, and the Danube; thee the rapid Tigris; thee the monster-bearing ocean, that roars against the remote Briton's; thee the region of Gaul fearless of death, and that of hardy Iberia obeys; thee the Sicambrians, who delight in slaughter, laying aside their arms, revere.

[45] See my note on Æsch. Ag. 4, ed. Bohn.

[46] *Tuos præbente Divos.* Since the Rhœtians were defeated upon the same day in which Augustus entered Alexandria fifteen years before, the poet concludes that the same gods had crowned both expeditions with success. Thus by this happy circumstance he transfers the glory of Tiberius to the emperor, and recalls to his remembrance a day which made him master of the world by ending the civil wars. The senate had decreed that the day, upon which Alexandria was taken, should be numbered among their sacred festivals. This day was probably the 29th of August, 724. DAC. SAN.

[47] *Cantaber non ante domabilis.* This epithet may be extended to the Medes and Indians; for although these nations had been often defeated, yet they were never entirely subdued until the year 734, when they were conquered by Agrippa. DAC.

## ODE XV.

TO AUGUSTUS, ON THE RESTORATION OF PEACE.[48]

PHŒBUS chid me, when I was meditating to sing of battles and conquered cities on the lyre; that I might not set my little sails along the Tyrrhenian Sea. Your age, O Cæsar, has both restored plenteous crops to the fields, and has brought back to our Jupiter the standards torn from the proud pillars of the Parthians; and has shut up [the temple] of Janus[49] [founded by] Romulus, now free from war; and has imposed a due discipline upon headstrong licentiousness, and has extirpated crimes, and recalled the ancient arts; by which the Latin name and strength of Italy have increased, and the fame and majesty of the empire is extended from the sun's western bed to the east. While Cæsar is guardian of affairs, neither civil rage nor violence shall disturb tranquillity; nor hatred which forges swords, and sets at variance unhappy states. Not those, who drink of the deep Danube, shall now break the Julian edicts: not the Getæ, not the Seres, nor the perfidious Persians, nor those born upon the river Tanais. And let us, both on common and festal days, amidst the gifts of joyous Bacchus, together with our wives and families, having first duly invoked the gods, celebrate, after the manner of our ancestors, with songs accompanied with Lydian pipes, our late valiant commanders; and Troy, and Anchises, and the offspring of benign Venus.

[48] In the latter end of spring, 744, Augustus shut the temple of Janus for the third and last time, which probably gave occasion to this ode. SAN.

[49] The temple of Janus was open in war and closed in peace. It had been closed previous to the reign of Augustus, once in the days of Numa, and a second time at the conclusion of the first Punic war. Under Augustus it was closed thrice: once in A. U. C. 725, after the overthrow of Antony, (compare Orosius, 6, 22, and Dio Cassius, 56, 23,) again in A. U. C. 729, after the reduction of the Cantabri, (compare Dio Cassius, 53, 26,) and the third time, when the Dacians, Dalmatians, and some of the German tribes were subdued by Tiberius and Drusus. (Compare Dio Cassius, 54, 36.) To this last Horace is here supposed to allude. We have retained *Janum Quirini*, i. e. *Janum Quiritium*. When the temple of Janus was the third time closed is not clearly known. Some, with Masson, refer it to the year 744, others to 748. Horace appears to allude merely to the fact of its having been closed *twice*. ANTHON. and M'CAUL.

THE BOOK

OF THE

# EPODES OF HORACE.

## ODE I.

TO MÆCENAS.

THOU wilt go,[1] my friend Mæcenas, with Liburnian[2] galleys among the towering forts of ships, ready at thine own [hazard] to undergo any of Cæsar's dangers. What shall I do? To whom life may be agreeable, if you survive; but, if otherwise, burdensome. Whether shall I, at your command, pursue my ease, which cannot be pleasing unless in your company? Or shall I endure this toil with such a courage, as becomes uneffeminate men to bear? I will bear it; and with an intrepid soul follow you, either through the summits of the Alps, and the inhospitable Caucasus, or to the furthest western bay. You may ask how I, unwarlike and infirm, can assist your labours by mine? While I am your companion, I shall be in less anxiety, which takes possession of the absent in a greater measure. As the bird, that has unfledged young, is

[1] *Ibis.* As soon as Mæcenas had received orders to hold himself in readiness to go aboard the fleet of Octavius, he imparted the news to Horace, and at the same time declared to him, that he would not permit him to make this voyage with him.

This ode was written in 723, and it shows, through the whole, a disinterested affection and gratitude. SAN.

[2] *Liburnis.* Plutarch, speaking of this battle, says, that when one of Antony's ships was surrounded by four or five Liburnian galleys, it looked like an assault of a town. Florus, describing the vessels of Antony, says, that they had from six to nine rowers to every oar; that they carried towers and bridges of such prodigious height, as to look like castles and towns; that the seas groaned beneath their weight, and the winds laboured to push them forward. Horace calls these towers *propugnacula navium*, and Virgil calls the vessels which bore them *turritas puppes*, towered ships. ED. DUBLIN.

in a greater dread of serpents' approaches, when they are left; —not that, if she should be present when they came, she could render more help. Not only this, but every other war, shall be cheerfully embraced by me for the hope of your favour: [and this,] not that my ploughs should labour, yoked to a greater number of mine own oxen; or that my cattle before the scorching dog-star should change the Calabrian[3] for the Lucanian[4] pastures: neither that my white country-box should equal the Circæan walls of lofty Tusculum.[5] Your generosity has enriched me enough, and more than enough: I shall never wish to amass, what either, like the miser Chremes, I may bury in the earth, or luxuriously squander, like a prodigal.

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## ODE II.

### THE PRAISES OF A COUNTRY LIFE.

HAPPY the man,[6] who, remote from business, after the man-

[3] *Pecusve Calabris.* The wealthier Romans had different pastures for summer and winter. The poorer sort sent their flocks into the public pastures, paying a certain rent to the farmers of the revenues. Thus Calabria was chosen for its warmth and temperature in winter, and Lucania for its coolness and verdure in summer, occasioned by its mountains. But the difficulty of the sentence depends upon the construction, which must be directly contrary to the poet's arrangement of the words. *Mutat Lucana Calabris pascuis*, for *mutat Calabra pascua Lucanis.* In the same manner in the first book, *mutat Lucretilem Lycæo*, for *mutat Lycæum Lucretili.* SCHOL.

[4] Lucania, a country of Italy, in the kingdom of Naples, between Apulia and the Tuscan Sea, famous for pastures. Calabria, the most southern part of the kingdom of Naples, called also Magna Græcia; lying between the Sicilian and Ionian Seas; it brings forth fruit twice in a year. WATSON.

[5] Tusculum is a city of Italy, about twelve miles from Rome, built on an eminence, where many of the Roman nobility, and Virgil, and Horace also, had country-seats. WATSON.

[6] The object of the poet is to show with how much difficulty a covetous man disengages himself from the love of riches. He, therefore, supposes an usurer, who is persuaded of the happiness and tranquillity of a country life, to have formed the design of retiring into the country and renouncing his former pursuits. The latter calls in his money, and is ready to depart, when his ruling passion returns, and once more plunges him in the vortex of gain. ANTH.

ner of the ancient race of mortals, cultivates his paternal lands with his own oxen, disengaged from every kind of usury; he is neither alarmed by the horrible trump, as a soldier, nor dreads he the angry sea; he shuns both the bar and the proud portals of citizens in power. Wherefore he either weds the lofty poplars to the mature branches of the vine; and, lopping off the useless boughs with his pruning-knife, he ingrafts more fruitful ones; or he takes a prospect of the herds of his lowing cattle, wandering about in a lonely vale; or stores his honey, pressed [from the combs], in clean vessels; or shears his tender sheep. Or, when autumn has lifted up in the fields his head adorned with mellow fruits, how does he rejoice, while he gathers the grafted pears, and the grape that vies with the purple, with which he may recompense thee, O Priapus, and thee, father Sylvanus, guardian of his boundaries! Sometimes he delights to lie under an aged holm, sometimes on the matted grass: meanwhile the waters glide along in their deep channels; the birds warble in the woods; and the fountains murmur with their purling streams, which invites gentle slumbers. But when the wintry season of the tempestuous air prepares rains and snows, he either drives the fierce boars, with many a dog, into the intercepting toils; or spreads his thin nets with the smooth pole, as a snare for the voracious thrushes; or catches in his gin the timorous hare, or that stranger the crane,[7] pleasing rewards [for his labour]. Amongst such joys as these, who does not forget those mischievous anxieties, which are the property of love. But if a chaste wife, assisting on her part [in the management] of the house, and beloved children, (such as is the Sabine,[8] or the sun-burned spouse of the industrious Apulian,) piles up the sacred hearth with old wood,[9] just at the approach of her weary husband; and, shutting up the fruitful cattle in the

[7] *Et advenam gruem.* Cranes came to Italy and Greece in winter for the warmth of the climate; from whence Pliny calls them *Hyemis advenas*, the strangers of winter. LAMB.

[8] *Sabina qualis.* The Sabines possessed the middle of Italy. They were a frugal and laborious people, and their wives were remarkable for chastity and modesty, domestic housewifery, and conjugal fidelity. CRUQ.

[9] *Sacrum vetustis extruat.* The construction is reversed; *Extruere lignis focum*, for *extruere ligna in foco*, or *super foco*. This fire was called *sacred*, because it was consecrated to Vesta and the household gods, whose statues were placed round it. CRUQ.

woven hurdles, milks dry their distended udders: and, drawing this year's wine out of a well-seasoned cask, prepares the unbought collation: not the Lucrine oysters[10] could delight me more, nor the turbot, nor the scar, should the tempestuous winter drive any from the eastern floods to this sea: not the turkey, nor the Asiatic wild fowl, can come into my stomach more agreeably, than the olive gathered from the richest branches from the trees, or the sorrel that loves the meadows, or mallows salubrious for a sickly body, or a lamb slain at the feast of Terminus, or a kid rescued from the wolf. Amidst these dainties, how it pleases one to see the well-fed sheep hastening home! to see the weary oxen, with drooping neck, dragging the inverted ploughshare! and slaves, the test of a rich family, ranged about the smiling household gods! When Alfius the usurer, now on the point of turning countryman, had said this, he collected in all his money on the Ides; and endeavours to put it out again at the Calends.

## ODE III.

### TO MÆCENAS.

If any person at any time with an impious hand has broken his aged father's neck, let him eat[11] garlic, more baneful than hemlock. Oh! the hardy bowels of the mowers! What poison is this that rages in my entrails? Has viper's blood, infused in these herbs, deceived me? Or has Canidia dressed this baleful food? When Medea, beyond all the [other] Argonauts, admired their handsome leader, she anointed Jason with this, as he was going to tie the untried yoke on the bulls: and having revenged herself on [Jason's] mistress, by making her presents besmeared with this, she flew away on

[10] *Lucrina conchylia.* *Conchylia* is a general word for all kinds of shell-fish. The Romans at first loved the oysters of the Lucrine Lake; afterwards they preferred those of Brundusium and Tarentum; at length all others were insipid to them except those of the Atlantic Ocean. As these expenses became excessive, the censors were obliged to forbid either fowl or shell-fish to be brought from countries so distant. Dac.

[11] "*Edit* is preferable to *edat*; for the ancients used *edim, edis, edit.* Schol. See Orelli.

her winged dragon. Never did the steaming influence of any constellation so raging as this rest upon the thirsty Appulia: neither did the gift [*of Dejanira*] burn hotter upon the shoulders of laborious Hercules. But if ever, facetious Mæcenas, you should have a desire for any such stuff again, I wish that your girl may oppose her hand to your kiss, and lie at the furthest part of the bed.

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## ODE IV.

### TO MENAS.[12]

As great an enmity as is allotted by nature to wolves and lambs, [so great a one] have I to you, you that are galled at your back with Spanish cords,[13] and on your legs with the hard fetter. Though, purse-proud with your riches, you strut along, yet fortune does not alter your birth. Do you not observe while you are stalking along the sacred way with a robe twice three ells long, how the most open indignation of those

[12] The manuscripts inscribe this ode *in Menam libertum*. Sextus Menas was a freedman of Cneius Pompeius, and during five or six years of the triumvirate had made himself considerable both to Octavius and Pompey, by betraying each of them in their turn, from whence Appian calls him *the double betrayer*.

In 714 he commanded Pompey's fleet; ravaged the borders of Tuscany, took Sardinia, and reduced Rome to such extremity, by shutting up the sea, that he compelled the Romans to demand a peace from Pompey. In 716, Menas became suspected by Pompey, who commanded him to give an account of his administration. He refused to obey; put the persons to death whom Pompey had sent; and surrendered himself to Octavius, with his ships, his troops, and the islands of Corsica and Sardinia. The triumvir received him with open arms, and put him on board his fleet in quality of lieutenant to Calvisius Sabinus. He there behaved himself with so much courage and conduct, in the expeditions of the following year, that, inflamed with his success, and angry that he had not the supreme command, he returned to Pompey.

In 718, discontented that he was not regarded equally to his merit, he ranged himself, with a large number of vessels, on the side of Octavius, who had made him some advantageous offers, yet never employed him afterwards but with much reserve. He was killed the following year in a sea-fight. ED. DUBLIN.

[13] *Ibericis funibus*. A Spanish herb, called *spartum*, had fibres so pliant and strong, that ropes were made of it; from whence a Spanish cord became a general name. TORR.

that pass and repass turns their looks on thee? This fellow, [say they,] cut with the triumvir's whips,[14] even till the beadle was sick of his office, ploughs a thousand acres of Falernian land,[15] and wears out the Appian road with his nags; and, in despite of Otho,[16] sits in the first rows [of the circus] as a knight of distinction. To what purpose is it, that so many brazen-beaked ships of immense bulk should be led out against pirates and a band of slaves, while this fellow, this is a military tribune?

## ODE V.

### THE WITCHES MANGLING A BOY.

BUT oh, by all the gods in heaven, who rule the earth and human race, what means this tumult?[17] And what the hideous looks of all these [hags, fixed] upon me alone? I conjure thee by thy children, (if invoked Lucina was ever present at any real birth of thine,) I [conjure] thee by this empty honour of my purple,[18] by Jupiter, who must disapprove these

[14] *Sectus flagellis triumviralibus.* There were three judges in Rome, who took cognizance of all petty crimes, and who ordered slaves and thieves to be chastised in their presence. The person against whom this ode was written had gone through this discipline, until the beadle, who used to proclaim the fault for which the criminals were punished, was tired of his office. *Præconis ad fastidium.*

[15] *Arat Falerni*, &c. Here are two reasons for this popular indignation, that this fellow should possess a thousand acres of land, when the ancient laws allowed the Roman citizen no more than seven; and that these thousand acres should lie in such a country as Campania; a country so fertile, that Bacchus and Ceres were said to have disputed the possession of it. TORR. DAC.

[16] According to the law of L. Roscius Otho, passed A. U. C. 686, fourteen rows of benches, immediately over the orchestra, a place where the senate sat, were appropriated in the theatre and amphitheatre for the accommodation of the knights. As the tribunes of the soldiers had an equal right with the Equites, they were entitled to seats in this same quarter; and hence the individual to whom the poet alludes, though of servile origin, boldly takes his place on the foremost of the equestrian benches, nor fears the law of Otho. ANTHON.

[17] *Tumultus.* This word, in a moral sense, carries always an idea of a criminal conspiracy. The boy sees a sentence of death in the eyes of the witches. TORR.

[18] *Per hoc inane purpuræ decus.* Children of quality wore a robe bor-

proceedings, why dost thou look at me as a step-mother, or as a wild beast stricken with a dart? While the boy made these complaints with a faltering voice, he stood, with his bandages[19] of distinction taken from him, a tender frame, such as might soften the impious breasts of the cruel Thracians; Canidia, having interwoven her hair and uncombed head with little vipers, orders wild[20] fig-trees torn up from graves, orders funeral cypresses and eggs besmeared with the gore of a loathsome toad, and feathers of the nocturnal screech-owl, and those herbs, which Iölchos, and Spain, fruitful in poisons, transmits, and bones snatched from the mouth of a hungry bitch, to be burned in Colchian flames. But Sagana, tucked up for expedition, sprinkling the waters of Avernus all over the house, bristles up with her rough hair like a sea-urchin, or a boar in the chase. Veia, deterred by no remorse of conscience, groaning with the toil, dug up the ground with the sharp spade; where the boy, fixed in, might long be tormented to death at the sight of food varied two or three times in a day: while he stood out with his face, just as much as bodies suspended by the chin [in swimming] project from the water, that his parched marrow and dried liver might be a charm for love; when once the pupils of his eyes had wasted away, fixed on the forbidden food. Both the idle Naples, and every neighbouring town believed, that Folia of Ariminum, [a witch] of masculine lust, was not absent: she, who with her Thessalian incantations forces the charmed stars and the moon from heaven.[21] Here the fell Canidia, gnawing her unpaired

dered with purple, until they were fifteen years of age. The boy, therefore, conjures Canidia by this robe, which showed his youth and quality, which was in itself esteemed sacred, and should therefore protect him from danger. The Romans, with regard to this robe, used the expression *majestas pueritiæ*, the majesty of childhood. TORR. DAC.

[19] *Constitit insignibus raptis.* His robe and bulla (which was hung round his neck, and made of gold or silver in form of a heart) are by the poet called *insignia.*

[20] *Jubet sepulcris caprificos erutas.* Here Canidia calls for the drugs that witches were supposed to use in composing their philtres. She commands the wild fig-tree to be brought, because it bears neither fruit nor flower, and is esteemed unlucky and ill-omened. To make the charm more powerful, it must grow in a burying-place, and be torn up by the roots. DAC.

[21] That the moon could be brought down by magic was a common superstition among the ancients, and the Thessalians were thought to be possessed of this art more than any other people. ANTHON.

thumb with her livid teeth, what said she? or what did she not say? O ye faithful witnesses to my proceedings, Night and Diana, who presidest over silence, when the secret rites are celebrated: now, now be present, now turn your anger and power against the houses of our enemies, while the savage wild beasts lie hid in the woods, dissolved in sweet repose; let the dogs of Suburra (which may be matter of ridicule for every body) bark at the aged profligate, bedaubed with ointment, such as my hands never made any more exquisite. What is the matter? Why are these compositions less efficacious than those of the barbarian Medea? by means of which she made her escape, after having revenged herself on [Jason's] haughty mistress, the daughter of the mighty Creon; when the garment, a gift that was infected with venom, took off his new bride by its inflammatory power. And yet no herb, nor root hidden in inaccessible places, ever escaped my notice. [Nevertheless,] he sleeps in the perfumed bed of every harlot, from his forgetfulness [of me]. Ah! ah! he walks free [from my power] by the charms of some more knowing witch. Varus, (oh you that will shortly have much to lament!) you shall come back to me by means of unusual spells; nor shall you return to yourself by all the power of Marsian enchantments.[22] I will prepare a stronger philtre: I will pour in a stronger philtre for you, disdainful as you are; and the heaven shall subside below the sea, with the earth extended over it, sooner than you shall not burn with love for me, in the same manner as this pitch [burns] in the sooty flames. At these words, the boy no longer [attempted], as before, to move the impious hags by soothing expressions: but, doubtful in what manner he should break silence, uttered Thyestean imprecations. Potions [said he] have a great efficacy in confounding right and wrong, but are not able to invert the condition of human nature; I will persecute you with curses; and execrating detestation is not to be expiated by any victim. Moreover, when doomed to death I shall have expired, I will attend you as a nocturnal fury; and, a ghost, I will attack your faces with my hooked talons, (for such is

[22] *Marsis vocibus.* The Marsi had the same character of witchcraft in Italy, as the Thessalians had in Greece. But they particularly owed their reputation to Marsus, the founder of their nation, who was the son of Circe.

the power of those divinities, the Manes,) and, brooding upon your restless breasts, I will deprive you of repose by terror. The mob, from village to village, assaulting you on every side with stones, shall demolish you filthy hags. Finally, the wolves and Esquiline[23] vultures shall scatter abroad your unburied limbs. Nor shall this spectacle escape the observation of my parents, who, alas! must survive me.

## ODE VI.

### AGAINST CASSIUS SEVERUS.

O CUR, thou coward against wolves, why dost thou persecute innocent strangers? Why do you not, if you can, turn your empty yelpings hither, and attack me, who will bite again? For, like a Molossian,[24] or tawny Laconian dog, that is a friendly assistant to shepherds, I will drive with erected ears through the deep snows every brute that shall go before me. You, when you have filled the grove with your fearful barking, you smell at the food that is thrown to you. Have a care: for very bitter against bad men, I exert my ready horns uplifted like him that was rejected as a son-in-law by the perfidious Lycambes, or the sharp enemy of Bupalus. What, if any cur attack me with malignant tooth, shall I, without revenge, blubber like a boy?

[23] *Esquilinæ alites.* The Esquilian Hill was a place of public executions; and the poor of Rome were buried there, in ditches called *puticuli*. The birds, which came to this hill, to prey upon carcasses of criminals, are called *Esquilinæ alites*. CRUQ.

[24] The Molossian and Laconian dogs were of a robust make, and valuable as well in hunting wild beasts, as in defending the flocks from nocturnal thieves, and from the attacks of wolves. The Molossi occupied the north-eastern part of Epirus. Virgil (Geor. iii. 405) characterizes both species, "*Veloces* Spartæ catulos *acremque* Molossum Pasce sero pingui." Shakspeare praises the former. *M. N. D.* iv. 11:

My hounds are bred out of the Spartan breed. ANTHON.

## ODE VII.

### TO THE ROMAN PEOPLE.[25]

WHITHER, whither, impious men, are you rushing? Or why are the swords drawn,[26] that were [so lately] sheathed? Is there too little of Roman blood spilled upon land and sea? [And this,] not that the Romans might burn the proud towers of envious Carthage, or that the Britons, hitherto unassailed, might go down[27] the sacred way bound in chains:[28] but that, agreeably to the wishes of the Parthians, this city may fall by its own might. This custom [of warfare] never obtained even among either wolves or savage lions, unless against a different species. Does blind phrensy, or your superior valour, or some crime, hurry you on at this rate? Give answer. They are silent: and wan paleness infects their countenances, and their stricken souls are stupified. This is the case: a cruel fatality and the crime of fratricide

[25] After the defeat of Brutus and Cassius, the death of Sextus Pompeius, and the resignation of Lepidus, Octavius and Antony alone remained in a condition of disputing the sovereign power. Sometimes Octavia, sometimes their common friends reconciled them; but, at length, they came to an open rupture, in the year 722, when all the forces of the republic were armed to give the last stroke to Roman liberty. During these preparations, Horace composed five or six odes on this subject. His design here is, to represent to both parties the horrors of their criminal dissensions, which threatened their common country with total ruin. SAN.

[26] *Enses conditi.* Peace had sheathed their swords ever since the death of Sextus Pompeius, that is, for more than two years. SAN.

[27] *Descenderet.* From the top of the sacred street they went downward to the forum, and the way from thence ascended to the Capitol. This ascent was called *Clivus Capitolinus.* LAMB.

[28] *Intactus Britannus.* Julius Cæsar was the first of the Romans who carried his arms into Britain; and, although Suetonius tells us that he obliged the Britons to give hostages, and imposed tributes upon them, yet we may say that he rather opened a way for his successors into the island, than that he conquered it; or perhaps it was never totally subdued by the Romans. In the time of Horace, the reduction of this people was considered as a new conquest, reserved for the arms of Augustus, from whence the poet here calls them *intacti*, as he always mentions them with epithets of terror, which represent them as a nation formidable to the Romans, even in the highest strength and glory of their republic. ED. DUBLIN.

have disquieted the Romans, from that time when the blood of the innocent Remus, to be expiated by his descendants, was spilled upon the earth.

## ODE VIII.

### UPON A WANTON OLD WOMAN.

CAN you, grown rank with lengthened age, ask what unnerves my vigour? When your teeth are black, and old age withers your brow with wrinkles: and your back sinks between your staring hip-bones, like that of an unhealthy cow. But, forsooth! your breast and your fallen chest, full well resembling a broken-backed horse, provoke me; and a body flabby, and feeble knees supported by swollen legs. May you be happy: and may triumphal statues adorn your funeral procession: and may no matron appear in public abounding with richer pearls. What follows, because the Stoic treatises[29] sometimes love to be on silken pillows? Are unlearned constitutions the less robust? Or are their limbs less stout? But for you to raise an appetite, in a stomach that is nice, it is necessary that you exert every art of language.

## ODE IX.

### TO MÆCENAS.[30]

WHEN, O happy Mæcenas, shall I, over-joyed at Cæsar's being victorious, drink with you under the stately dome (for so it pleases Jove) the Cæcuban reserved for festal entertainments, while the lyre plays a tune, accompanied with flutes, that in the Doric, these in the Phrygian measure? As lately,

[29] "It was a common custom to place such books on the pillows, that, when the favoured one came, the lady might pretend that philosophy, not pleasure, was the object of her attention." SCHOL.

[30] The date of this piece cannot be disputed, since the battle of Actium, which is the subject of it, was fought on the 12th of September, 723. SAN.

when the Neptunian admiral, driven from the sea, and his navy burned, fled, after having menaced those chains to Rome, which, like a friend, he had taken off from perfidious slaves.[31] The Roman soldiers, (alas! ye, our posterity, will deny the fact,) enslaved to a woman, carry palisadoes and arms, and can be subservient to haggard eunuchs; and among the military standards, oh shame! the sun beholds an [Egyptian] canopy.[32] Indignant[33] at this, the Gauls turned two thousand of their cavalry, proclaiming Cæsar: and the ships of the hostile navy, going off to the left, lie by in port. Hail, god of triumph! Dost thou delay the golden chariots and untouched heifers? Hail, god of triumph! You neither brought back a general equal [to Cæsar], from the Jugurthine war; nor from the African [war, him,] whose valour raised him a monument over Carthage. Our enemy, overthrown both by land and sea, has changed his purple vestments for mourning. He either seeks Crete, famous for her hundred cities, ready to sail with unfavourable winds; or the Syrtes harassed by the south; or else is driven by the uncertain sea. Bring hither, boy, larger bowls, and the Chian or Lesbian wine; or, what may correct this rising qualm of mine, fill me out the Cæcuban. It is my pleasure to dissipate care and anxiety for Cæsar's danger with delicious wine.

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## ODE X.

### AGAINST MÆVIUS.

The vessel, that carries the loathsome Mævius, makes her departure under an unlucky omen. Be mindful, O south wind, that you buffet it about with horrible billows. May the gloomy east, turning up the sea, disperse its cables and broken oars. Let the north arise as mighty, as when he rives the

[31] *Servis amicus perfidis.* Pompey received all the slaves who would enter into his service, and the desertion was so great through Italy, that the vestals offered sacrifices and prayers to prevent the continuance of it. SAN.

[32] The derivation of "canopium" is amusing, from driving away gnats, κώνωπας. Cf. Orelli.

[33] But Orelli reads "at hoc," with Fea.

quivering oaks on the lofty mountains; nor let a friendly star appear through the murky night, in which the baleful Orion sets: nor let him be conveyed in a calmer sea, than was the Grecian band of conquerors, when Pallas turned her rage from burned Troy to the ship of impious Ajax. Oh what a sweat is coming upon your sailors, and what a sallow paleness upon you, and that effeminate wailing, and those prayers to unregarding Jupiter; when the Ionian bay, roaring with the tempestuous south-west, shall break your keel! But if, extended along the winding shore, you shall delight the cormorants as a dainty prey, a lascivious he-goat and an ewe-lamb shall be sacrificed to the Tempests.

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## ODE XI.

### TO PECTIUS.

It by no means, O Pectius, delights me as heretofore to write Lyric verses, being smitten with cruel love: with love, who takes pleasure to inflame me beyond others, either youths or maidens. This is the third December that has shaken the [leafy] honours from the woods, since I ceased to be mad for Inachia. Ah me! (for I am ashamed of so great a misfortune,) what a subject of talk was I throughout the city! I repent too of the entertainments, at which both a languishing and silence and sighs, heaved from the bottom of my breast, discovered the lover. As soon as the indelicate god [Bacchus] by the glowing wine had removed, as I grew warm, the secrets of [my heart] from their repository, I made my complaints, lamenting to you, "Has the fairest genius of a poor man no weight against wealthy lucre? Wherefore, if a generous indignation boil in my breast, insomuch as to disperse to the winds these disagreeable applications, that give no ease to the desperate wound; the shame [of being overcome] ending, shall cease to contest with rivals of such a sort."[34] When I, with great gravity, had applauded these resolutions in your presence, being ordered to go home, I was carried with a wandering foot to posts, alas! to me not

[34] "*Imparibus*, qui inferiores quam ego sunt." Orelli.

friendly, and alas! obdurate gates, against which I bruised my loins and side. Now my affections for the delicate Lyciscus engross all my time: from them neither the unreserved admonitions, nor the serious reprehensions of other friends, can recall me [to my former taste for poetry]; but, perhaps, either a new flame for some fair damsel, or for some graceful youth who binds his long hair in a knot,[35] [may do so].

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## ODE XII.

### TO A WOMAN WHOSE CHARMS WERE OVER.

WHAT would you be at, you woman fitter for the swarthy monsters?[36] Why do you send tokens, why billet-doux to me, and not to some vigorous youth, and of a taste not nice? For I am one who discerns a polypus or fetid ramminess, however concealed, more quickly than the keenest dog the covert of the boar. What sweatiness, and how rank an odour every where rises from her withered limbs! when she strives to lay her furious rage with impossibilities; now she has no longer the advantage of moist cosmetics, and her colour appears as if stained with crocodile's ordure; and now, in wild impetuosity, she tears her bed, bedding, and all she has. She attacks even my loathings in the most angry terms:—"You are always less dull with Inachia than me: in her company you are threefold complaisance; but you are ever unprepared to oblige me in a single instance. Lesbia, who first recommended you—so unfit a help in time of need—may she come to an ill end! when Coan Amyntas paid me his addresses; who is ever as constant in his fair-one's service, as the young tree to the hill it grows on. For whom were laboured the fleeces of the richest Tyrian dye? For you? Even so that there was not one in company, among gentlemen of your own rank, whom his own wife admired preferably to you: oh, unhappy me, whom you fly, as the lamb dreads the fierce wolves, or the she-goats the lions!"

[35] See Orelli. Others interpret, "with loose curls."

[36] i. e. elephants. According to Isidorus, Orig. 12, 2, 14, the Indians call an elephant "barrus," its cry or voice "barritus." ORELLI.

## ODE XIII.

TO A FRIEND.

An horrible tempest has condensed the sky, and showers and snows bring down the atmosphere: now the sea, now the woods bellow with the Thracian north wind. Let us, my friends, take occasion from the day; and, while our knees are vigorous, and it becomes us, let old age with his contracted forehead become smooth. Do you produce the wine, that was pressed in the consulship of my Torquatus. Forbear to talk of any other matters. The deity, perhaps, will reduce these [present evils] to your former [happy] state by a propitious change. Now it is fitting both to be bedewed with Persian perfume, and to relieve our breasts of dire vexations by the lyre, sacred to Mercury. Like as the noble Centaur, [Chiron,] sung to his mighty pupil: "Invincible mortal, son of the goddess Thetis, the land of Assaracus awaits you, which the cold currents of little Scamander and swift-gliding Simois divide: whence the fatal sisters have broken off your return, by a thread that cannot be altered: nor shall your azure mother convey you back to your home. There [then] by wine and music, sweet consolations,[37] drive away every symptom of hideous melancholy."

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## ODE XIV.

TO MÆCENAS.

You kill me, my courteous Mæcenas, by frequently inquiring, why a soothing indolence has diffused as great a degree of forgetfulness on my inmost senses, as if I had imbibed with a thirsty throat the cups that bring on Lethean slumbers. For the god, the god prohibits me from bringing to a conclusion the verses I promised [you, namely those] iambics which I

[37] Orelli has completely established this meaning of "alloquiis," from Varro L. L. 6, § 57; Catull. 38, 5; Ovid, Trist. i. 8, 17.

had begun. In the same manner they report that Anacreon of Teios burned for the Samian Bathyllus; who often lamented his love to an inaccurate measure on a hollow lyre. You are violently in love yourself; but if a fairer flame did not burn besieged Troy, rejoice in your lot. Phryne, a freed-woman, and not content with a single admirer, consumes me.

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## ODE XV.

### TO NEÆRA.

It was night, and the moon shone in a serene sky among the lesser stars; when you, about to violate the divinity of the great gods, swore [to be true] to my requests, embracing me with your pliant arms more closely than the lofty oak is clasped by the ivy; that while the wolf should remain an enemy to the flock,[38] and Orion, unpropitious to the sailors, should trouble the wintry sea, and while the air should fan the unshorn locks of Apollo, [so long you vowed] that this love should be mutual. O Neæra, who shall one day greatly grieve on account of my merit: for, if there is any thing of manhood in Horace, he will not endure that you should dedicate your nights continually to another, whom you prefer; and exasperated, he will look out for one who will return his love: and, though an unfeigned sorrow should take possession of you, yet my firmness shall not give way to that beauty which has once given me disgust.[39] But as for you, whoever you be who are more successful [than me], and now strut proud of my misfortune; though you be rich in flocks and abundance of land, and Pactolus[40] flow for you, nor the mysteries of Py-

[38] *Dum pecori lupus.* This was probably the form of the oath which Horace dictated to Neæra, and by which he would insinuate that earth, air, and skies should be avengers of her perjury, as they were witnesses of her oath. TORR.

[39] *Semel offensæ.* The ancient commentator justly remarks, that this epithet *offensæ* is a passive, with an active signification. *Offensa forma* therefore signifies *forma, quæ me offendit.* ED. DUBL.

[40] A river in Lydia. It rises in Mount Tmolus, runs into the Hermus, and flows along with it to the Ægean Sea, not far from Smyrna. In the time of Crœsus, this river rolled from the mountains a kind of gold-sand, which was the chief cause of that king's immense riches. WATSON.

thagoras,[41] born again, escape you, and you excel Nireus in beauty; alas! you shall [hereafter] bewail her love transferred elsewhere: but I shall laugh in my turn.

## ODE XVI.

### TO THE ROMAN PEOPLE.

Now is another age worn away by civil wars,[42] and Rome herself falls by her own strength. Whom neither the bordering Marsi could destroy, nor the Etrurian band of the menacing Porsena, nor the rival valour of Capua, nor the bold Spartacus, and the Gauls perfidious with their innovations: nor did the fierce Germany subdue with its blue-eyed youth, nor Annibal, detested by parents: but we, an impious race, whose blood is devoted to perdition, shall destroy her: and this land shall again be possessed by wild beasts. The victorious barbarian, alas! shall trample upon the ashes of the city, and the horseman shall smite it with the sounding hoofs; and (horrible to see!) he shall insultingly disperse the bones of Romulus, which [as yet] are free from the injuries of wind and sun. Perhaps you all in general, or the better part of you, are inquisitive to know, what may be expedient, in order to escape [such] dreadful evils. There can be no determination better than this; namely, to go wherever our feet will carry us, wherever the south or boisterous south-west shall summon us through the waves; in the same manner as the state of the Phocæans[43]

[41] *Nec te Pythagoræ.* Horace may mean natural philosophy, of which Pythagoras was *non sordidus auctor;* or particularly his doctrine of the metempsychosis, from whence he calls him *renatus.* ED. DUBL.

[42] *Bellis civilibus.* The civil wars between Marius and Sylla, which began in 666, were never perfectly extinguished until the death of Antony, 724. Horace therefore says, that this was the second age of those wars, because they had commenced in the preceding century. ED. DUBL.

[43] *Exsecrata.* The Phocæans being besieged by Harpagus, general of the Persians, demanded one day's truce to deliberate upon the propositions which he had sent to them, and desired that he would draw off his army from their walls. As soon as Harpagus had consented, they carried their most valuable effects, their wives and children, aboard their ships. Then throwing a mass of glowing iron into the sea, they bound themselves by oath never to return to their country until that mass should rise to the surface of the water. From hence a Grecian proverb, "As

fled, after having uttered execrations [against such as should return], and left their fields and proper dwellings and temples to be inhabited by boars and ravenous wolves. Is this agreeable? has any one a better scheme to advise? Why do we delay to go on shipboard under an auspicious omen? But first let us swear to these conditions—the stones shall swim upward, lifted from the bottom of the sea, as soon as it shall not be impious to return; nor let it grieve us to direct our sails homeward, when the Po shall wash the tops of the Matinian summits; or the lofty Apennine shall remove into the sea, or a miraculous appetite shall unite monsters by a strange kind of lust; insomuch that tigers may delight to couple with hinds, and the dove be polluted with the kite; nor the simple herds may dread the brindled lions, and the he-goat, grown smooth, may love the briny main. After having sworn to these things, and whatever else may cut off the pleasing hope of returning, let us go, the whole city of us, or at least that part which is superior to the illiterate mob: let the idle and despairing part remain upon these inauspicious habitations. Ye, that have bravery, away with effeminate grief, and fly beyond the Tuscan shore. The ocean encircling the land awaits us; let us seek the happy plains, and prospering islands, where the untilled land yearly produces corn, and the unpruned vineyard punctually flourishes; and where the branch of the never-failing olive blossoms forth, and the purple fig adorns its native tree: honey distils from the hollow oaks; the light water bounds down from the high mountains with a murmuring pace. There the she-goats come to the milk-pails of their own accord, and the friendly flock return with their udders distended; nor does the bear at evening growl about the sheepfold, nor does the rising ground swell with vipers: and many more things shall we, happy [Romans], view with admiration: how neither the rainy east lays waste the corn-fields with profuse showers, nor is the fertile seed burned by a dry glebe; the king of gods moderating both [extremes]. The pine rowed by the Argonauts never attempted to come hither; nor did the lascivious [Medea] of

long as the Phocæan mass of iron shall continue at the bottom of the ocean." Their story is told by Herodotus and Strabo. DUBLIN EDITOR. Orelli observes that *exsecrata* is the middle voice, = *cum se diris devovisset.*

Colchis set her foot [in this place]: hither the Sidonian mariners never turned their sail-yards, nor the toiling crew of Ulysses. No contagious distempers hurt the flocks; nor does the fiery violence of any constellation scorch the herd. Jupiter set apart those shores for a pious people, when he debased the golden age with brass: with brass, then with iron he hardened the ages; from which there shall be a happy escape for the good, according to my predictions.

## ODE XVII.

### DIALOGUE BETWEEN HORACE AND CANIDIA.

Now, now I yield to powerful science; and suppliant beseech thee by the dominions of Proserpine, and by the inflexible divinity of Diana, and by the books of incantations able to call down the stars displaced from the firmament; O Canidia, at length desist from thine imprecations, and quickly turn, turn back thy magical machine.[44] Telephus[45] moved [with compassion] the grandson of Nereus, against whom he arrogantly had put his troops of Mysians in battle-array, and against whom he had darted his sharp javelins. The Trojan matrons embalmed the body of the man-slaying Hector, which had been condemned to birds of prey, and dogs, after king [Priam], having left the walls of the city, prostrated himself, alas! at the feet of the obstinate Achilles. The mariners of the indefatigable Ulysses put off their limbs, bristled with the hard skins [of swine], at the will of Circe: then their reason and voice were restored, and their former comeliness

[44] *Citumque retro.* Propertius and Martial mention a magical instrument called *rhombus.* Theocritus and Lucian tell us, that it was made of brass; and Ovid says, it was turned round by straps of leather, with which it was bound. This is probably the same instrument which Horace calls *turbo*, and he beseeches Canidia to turn it backward, as if to correct the fatal effects which it produced in its natural course. TORR.

[45] Telephus was king of Mysia. When the Greeks entered his country, in their passage to Troy, he opposed them vigorously; but being wounded by Achilles, he was told by the oracle, that he could only be cured by the same weapon with which he was wounded. He applied to Achilles, who, scraping his lance, poured the filings into his wound. Pliny mentions a picture, in which Achilles was painted performing the cure. LAMB.

to their countenances. I have suffered punishment enough, and more than enough, on thy account, O thou so dearly beloved by the sailors and factors. My vigour is gone away, and my ruddy complexion has left me; my bones are covered with a ghastly skin; my hair with your preparations is grown hoary. No ease respites me from my sufferings: night presses upon day, and day upon night: nor is it in my power to relieve my lungs, which are strained with gasping. Wherefore, wretch that I am, I am compelled to credit (what was denied by me) that the charms of the Samnites discompose the breast, and the head splits in sunder at the Marsian incantations. What wouldst thou have more? O sea! O earth! I burn in such a degree as neither Hercules did, besmeared with the black gore of Nessus, nor the fervid flame burning in the Sicilian Ætna. Yet you, a laboratory[46] of Colchian poisons, remain on fire, till I, [reduced to] a dry ember, shall be wafted away by the injurious winds. What event, or what penalty awaits me? Speak out: I will with honour pay the demanded mulct; ready to make an expiation, whether you shall require a hundred steers, or choose to be celebrated on a lying lyre. You, a woman of modesty, you, a woman of probity, shall traverse the stars, as a golden constellation. Castor and the brother of the great Castor, offended at the infamy brought on [their sister] Helen, yet overcome by entreaty, restored to the poet his eyes that were taken away from him. And do you (for it is in your power) extricate me from this frenzy; O you, that are neither defiled by family meanness, nor skilful to disperse the ashes of poor people,[47] after they have been nine days interred.[48] You have an hos-

[46] *Officina.* The ancient Scholiast has well explained this passage, *ipsam Canidiam officinam venenorum disertè dixit;* Horace calls his witch a shop of poisons, as we call a learned man a living library. FRAN.

[47] *Sepulchris pauperum.* Acron well remarks, that Horace only means the sepulchres of the poor, since those of the rich were surrounded with walls, to protect them from the sacrilege of sorcerers. FRAN.

[48] *Novendiales pulveres.* Servius, in his notes upon the fifth book of Virgil's Æneid, says, that a dead body was preserved seven days, burned on the eighth, and interred on the ninth; and that Horace intended these ceremonies in the present passage. This explication, although contradicted by Acron, has been received by our ablest commentators; yet there is little probability that such ceremonials were observed in the funerals of poor people, of whom alone the poet speaks here. He seems rather to mean, that these witches dug up the ashes of the dead nine

pitable breast, and unpolluted hands; and Pactumeius is your son, and thee the midwife has tended; and, whenever you bring forth, you spring up with unabated vigour.

CANIDIA'S ANSWER.

WHY do you pour forth your entreaties to ears that are closely shut [against them]? The wintry ocean, with its briny tempests, does not lash rocks more deaf to the cries of the naked mariners. What, shall you, without being made an example of, deride the Cotyttian mysteries,[49] sacred to unrestrained love, which were divulged [by you]? And shall you, [assuming the office] of Pontiff [with regard to my] Esquilian incantations, fill the city with my name unpunished? What did it avail me to have enriched the Palignian sorceress [with my charms], and to have prepared poison of greater expedition, if a slower fate awaits you than is agreeable to my wishes? An irksome life shall be protracted by you, wretch as you are, for this purpose, that you may perpetually be able to endure new tortures. Tantalus, the perfidious sire of Pelops, ever craving after the plenteous banquet [which is always before him], wishes for respite; Prometheus, chained to the vulture, wishes [for rest]; Sisyphus wishes to place the stone on the summit of the mountain: but the laws of Jupiter forbid. Thus you shall desire at one time to leap down from a high tower, at another to lay open your breast with the Noric sword; and, grieving with your tedious indisposition, shall tie nooses about your neck in vain. I at that time will ride on your odious shoulders; and the whole earth

days after they were interred; and perhaps the number nine might have had somewhat mysterious in it, which was thought to give force to their enchantments. The laws of the twelve tables had nothing determined concerning the number of days which a corpse should be kept before it was to be carried out to burial. SAN.

[49] *Riseris Cotyttia vulgata.—Cotyttia vulgando ridenda proposueris.* Cotys, or Cotytto, was the goddess of impurity; and although she did not preside over assemblies of witches, yet, as there were many vile and infamous ceremonies practised in them, the poet satirically makes Canidia call them the feasts of Cotys. Better to explain his design, he adds *liberi Cupidinis sacrum*, mysteries of a licentious and unbounded love. A Roman proverb calls a person of dissolute and vicious manners, *Cotyos contubernalis*, a companion of Cotys. POLITIAN.

shall acknowledge my unexampled power. What shall I, who can give motion to waxen images (as you yourself, inquisitive as you are, were convinced of) and snatch the moon from heaven by my incantations; I, who can raise the dead after they are burned, and duly prepare the potion of love, shall I bewail the event of my art having no efficacy upon you?

# THE SECULAR POEM

OF

# HORACE.

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### TO APOLLO AND DIANA.

PHŒBUS, and thou Diana, sovereign of the woods, ye illustrious ornaments of the heavens, oh ever worthy of adoration and ever adored, bestow what we pray for at this sacred season: at which the Sibylline verses have given directions, that select virgins and chaste youths should sing a hymn to the deities, to whom the seven hills [of Rome] are acceptable. O genial sun,[1] who in your splendid car draw forth and obscure the day, and who arise another and the same, may it never be in your power to behold any thing more glorious than the city of Rome! O Ilithyia, of lenient power to produce the timely birth, protect the matrons [in labour]; whether you choose the title of Lucina, or Genitalis. O goddess, multiply our offspring: and prosper the decrees of the senate in relation to the joining of women in wedlock, and the matrimonial law[2] about to teem with a new race; that

[1] *Alme Sol.* It was a superstitious custom of the heathens in their hymns, to give the gods all their different names, for fear of omitting any that might be more agreeable. In this piece, the boys call the son of Latona, *Phœbe, alme Sol, Apollo, Augur, decoras arcu, acceptus novem Camœnis*; and the girls call the sister of this god, *Ilithya, Lucina, Genitalis, siderum regina, Diana*, and *Luna*. FRAN.

[2] *Lege maritâ.* In the year 736, Augustus made a law *de maritandis ordinibus*, in which he proposed rewards to those who would marry; and punishments or fines for those who continued in celibacy. In 762, he made another law, by the consuls Marcus Papius Mutilus, and Quintus Poppeus Secundus. The first called the Julian, the second, the Papian law. They were intended to restore to Rome the number of her citizens, which had been greatly lessened during the civil wars; yet Augustus only revived those ancient ordinances which expressly commanded the censors

the stated revolution of a hundred and ten years[3] may bring back the hymns and the games, three times by bright daylight resorted to in crowds, and as often in the welcome night. And you, ye fatal sisters, infallible in having predicted what is established, and what the settled order of things preserves, add propitious fates to those already past. Let the earth, fertile in fruits and flocks, present Ceres with a sheafy crown: may both salubrious rains and Jove's air cherish the young brood! Apollo, mild and gentle with your sheathed arrows, hear the suppliant youths: O moon, thou horned queen of stars, hear the virgins. If Rome be your

not to permit the citizens to live unmarried. *Cœlibes esse prohibento.* These laws as equally regarded men as women; but the choir of virgins naturally mention that sex alone of which they themselves are a part. FRAN.

[3] *Undenos decies per annos.* There were among the Latins two opinions concerning the duration of an age. Before the time of Augustus it reckoned exactly a hundred years, and the Sibylline Oracle, which then subsisted, marked precisely the same number. The fifth secular games gave occasion to a new opinion. Augustus, persuaded that it was of great consequence to the state not to omit the celebration of this festival, gave order to the Sibylline priests to consult at what time of the current age it ought to be celebrated. They perceiving that it had been neglected in 705, under Julius Cæsar, were anxious to find some way of covering their fault, that they might not be thought answerable for all the calamities of the civil war. Three things made their imposture easy. They were the sole depositaries of the Sibylline books; the world was not in general agreed upon the year by which the games should be regulated; and it was divided even upon the date of those in which they had formerly been celebrated. The priests did not fail to take advantage of this diversity of sentiments to flatter Augustus, by persuading him that the secular year regularly fell upon 737. To this purpose they published commentaries upon the Sibylline books, in which they proved by the very words of the Sibyl, (though with some alteration from their ancient reading,) that an age ought to contain a hundred and ten years, and not a hundred only.

The authority of these priests being infinitely respected by a superstitious people, instantly put this falsehood into the place of truth, without any person daring to contradict it, since it was forbidden, upon pain of death, to communicate the books of the Sibyls. The Prince, charmed to see that the gods had reserved to his time the celebration of so great a festival, immediately supported the imposture by his edicts to authorize the discovery of the priests. Whether in flattery or credulity, the poet gave himself to the public opinion; and indeed he must, with a very bad grace, have followed the ancient system in a poem composed by order of Augustus, and sung in the presence of that prince, and of the priests in the name of the whole empire. FRAN.

work, and the Trojan troops arrived on the Tuscan shore (the part, commanded [by your oracles] to change their homes and city) by a successful navigation: for whom pious Æneas, surviving his country, secured a free passage through Troy, burning not by his treachery, about to give them more ample possessions than those that were left behind. O ye deities, grant to the tractable youth probity of manners; to old age, ye deities, grant a pleasing retirement; to the Roman people, wealth, and progeny, and every kind of glory. And may the illustrious issue of Anchises and Venus, who worships you with [offerings of] white bulls, reign superior to the warring enemy, merciful to the prostrate. Now the Parthian, by sea and land, dreads our powerful forces and the Roman axes: now the Scythians beg [to know] our commands, and the Indians but lately so arrogant. Now truth, and peace, and honour, and ancient modesty, and neglected virtue dare to return, and happy plenty appears, with her horn full to the brim. Phœbus, the god of augury, and conspicuous for his shining bow,[4] and dear to the nine muses, who by his salutary art soothes the wearied limbs of the body; if he, propitious, surveys the Palatine altars—may he prolong the Roman affairs, and the happy state of Italy to another lustrum, and to an improving age. And may Diana, who possesses Mount Aventine and Algidus, regard the prayers of the Quindecemvirs,[5] and lend a gracious ear to the supplica-

[4] *Augur et fulgente*, &c. Torrentius observes that Horace has collected, in these four verses, the four principal attributes of Apollo; divination, archery, music, and physic.

[5] *Quindecim virorum*. The oracles, which concerned the Roman empire, were anciently put into a coffer of stone, and deposited in a subterraneous place in the Capitol. They were intrusted to the care of two priests called *duumviri sacrorum*, whose principal business was to consult those books on all occasions of the state, but never without a decree of the senate. Tarquin added two officers, maintained at the public expense, to assist and watch over them in their ministry. In 388, were added eight priests to the two first, and the number was afterwards augmented to fifteen, from whence they were called Decemviri and Quindecemviri, which last name remained when they were multiplied to forty, and even to sixty. Cæsar added a sixteenth, and the senate permitted Augustus to enlarge the number as he pleased.

The Capitol having been burned in 671, the Sibylline books perished in the fire. Sylla rebuilt the Capitol, and the senate sent three deputies into Ionia to collect whatever verses of the Sibyl Eritria tradition had preserved, which were almost a thousand. Augustus gathered in Asia

tions of the youths. We, the choir taught to sing the praises of Phœbus and Diana, bear home with us a good and certain hope, that Jupiter and all the other gods are sensible of these our supplications.

Minor, in the islands of the Ægean Sea, in Africa, and the colonies of Italy, more than two thousand volumes of Greek and Latin verses, which passed under the name of the Sibyls; and having burned all that the priests judged apocryphal, he placed them, with those which he took out of the Capitol, under the base of Apollo's statue, in the temple which he had erected to that god. They continued in this state to the times of Honorius, who ordered Stilicon to burn all that remained of these pretended Sibylline verses. FRAN.

By 2:15

THE FIRST BOOK

OF THE

# SATIRES OF HORACE.

## SATIRE I.

*That all, but especially the covetous, think their own condition the hardest.*

How comes it to pass, Mæcenas, that no one lives content with his condition, whether reason gave it him, or chance threw it in his way? [but] praises those who follow different pursuits? "O happy merchants!" says the soldier, oppressed with years, and now broken down in his limbs through excess of labour. On the other side, the merchant, when the south winds toss his ship, [cries,] "Warfare is preferable;" for why? the engagement is begun, and in an instant there comes a speedy death or a joyful victory. The lawyer praises the farmer's state when the client knocks at his door by cock-crow. He who, having entered into a recognisance,[1] is dragged from the country into the city, cries, "Those only are happy who live in the city." The other instances of this kind (they are so numerous) would weary out the loquacious Fabius;[2] not to keep you in suspense, hear to what an issue I will bring the matter. If any god should say, "Lo! I will effect what you desire: you, that were just now a soldier, shall be a mer-

[1] *Datis vadibus.* In some suit, the farmer had given bail for his attendance on the day appointed for the trial. The persons who had bound themselves as bail for his appearance, are called *vades.* The derivation of the word is supposed to be *vadere*, "to go," because the person who procures such persons to answer for his appearance, is allowed to go until the day of the trial. M'Caul.

[2] It is not known to whom Horace alludes. The Scholiast informs us that there was a knight of this name, a partisan of Pompey's, who had written some treatises on the doctrines of the Stoics, and who, he says, argued sometimes with Horace for the truth of the principles of that sect. M'Caul.

chant; you, lately a lawyer, [shall be] a farmer. Do ye depart one way, and ye another, having exchanged the parts [you are to act in life]. How now! Why do you stand?" They are unwilling; and yet it is in their power to be happy. What reason can be assigned, but that Jupiter should deservedly distend both his cheeks in indignation, and declare that for the future he will not be so indulgent as to lend an ear to their prayers? But further, that I may not run over this in a laughing manner, like those [who treat] on ludicrous subjects (though what hinders one being merry, while telling the truth? as good-natured teachers at first give cakes to their boys, that they may be willing to learn their first rudiments: raillery, however, apart, let us investigate serious matters). He that turns the heavy glebe with the hard plough-share, this fraudulent tavern-keeper,[3] the soldier, and the sailors, who dauntless run through every sea, profess that they endure toil with this intention, that as old men they may retire into a secure resting-place, when once they have gotten together a sufficient provision.

Thus the little ant, (for she is an example,) of great industry, carries in her mouth whatever she is able, and adds to the heap which she piles up, by no means ignorant and not careless for the future. Which [ant, nevertheless,] as soon as Aquarius saddens the changed year, never creeps abroad, but wisely makes use of those stores which were provided beforehand: while neither sultry summer, nor winter, fire, ocean, sword, can drive you from gain. You surmount every obstacle, that no other man may be richer than yourself. What pleasure is it for you, trembling to deposit an immense weight of silver and gold in the earth dug up by stealth?[4] Because, if you should lessen it, it may be reduced to a paltry farthing.

But unless that be the case, what beauty has an accumulated hoard? Though your threshing-floor should yield[5] a hundred thousand bushels of corn, your belly will not on that account contain more than mine: just as if it were your lot to carry on your loaded shoulder the basket of bread among slaves, you would receive no more [for your own share] than

[3] *Hic* = "cujusmodi quotidie vides." ORELLI. See the other commentators.

[4] i. e. to hide it.

[5] Literally, "wear," "rub." There is an ellipse of "si," as in Sat. i. 3; ii. 4, 292; Virg. Æn. vi. 31. M'CAUL.

he who bore no part of the burthen. Or tell me, what it is to the purpose of that man, who lives within the compass of nature, whether he plough a hundred or a thousand acres?

"But it is still delightful to take out of a great hoard."

While you leave us to take as much out of a moderate store, why should you extol your granaries, more than our corn-baskets? As if you had occasion for no more than a pitcher or glass of water, and should say, "I had rather draw [so much] from a great river, than the very same quantity from this little fountain." Hence it comes to pass, that the rapid Aufidus carries away, together with the bank, such men as an abundance more copious than what is just delights. But he who desires only so much as is sufficient, neither drinks water foamed with the mud, nor loses his life in the waves.

But a great majority of mankind, misled by a wrong desire, cry, No sum is enough; because you are esteemed in proportion to what you possess. What can one do to such a tribe as this? Why, bid them be wretched, since their inclination prompts them to it. As a certain person is recorded [to have lived] at Athens, covetous and rich, who was wont to despise the talk of the people in this manner: "The crowd hiss me; but I applaud myself at home, as soon as I contemplate my money in my chest." The thirsty Tantalus catches at the streams, which elude his lips. Why do you laugh? The name changed, the tale is told of you. You sleep upon your bags, heaped up on every side, gaping over them, and are obliged to abstain from them, as if they were consecrated things, or to amuse yourself with them as you would with pictures. Are you ignorant of what value money has, what use it can afford? Bread, herbs, a bottle of wine may be purchased; to which [necessaries], add [such others], as, being withheld, human nature would be uneasy with itself. What, to watch half dead with terror, night and day, to dread profligate thieves, fire, and your slaves, lest they should run away and plunder you; is this delightful? I should always wish to be very poor in possessions held upon these terms.

But if your body should be disordered by being seized with a cold, or any other casualty should confine you to your bed, have you one that will abide by you, prepare medicines, entreat the physician that he would set you upon your feet, and restore you to your children and dear relations?

Neither your wife, nor your son, desires your recovery; all your neighbours, acquaintances, [nay the very] boys and girls hate you. Do you wonder that no one tenders you the affection which you do not merit, since you prefer your money to every thing else? If you think to retain, and preserve as friends, the relations which nature gives you, without taking any pains; wretch that you are, you lose your labour equally, as if any one should train an ass to be obedient to the rein, and run in the Campus [Martius]. Finally, let there be some end to your search: and, as your riches increase, be in less dread of poverty; and begin to cease from your toil, that being acquired which you coveted: nor do as did one Umidius, (it is no tedious story,) who was so rich that he measured his money, so sordid that he never clothed himself any better than a slave; and, even to his last moments, was in dread lest want of bread should oppress him: but his freedwoman, the bravest of all the daughters of Tyndarus,[6] cut him in two with a hatchet.

"What therefore do you persuade me to? That I should lead the life of a Nævius, or in such a manner as a Nomentanus?"

You are going [now] to make things tally, that are contradictory in their natures.[7] When I bid you not be a miser, I do not order you to become a debauchee and a prodigal. There is some difference between the case of Tanaïs and his son-in-law Visellius: there is a mean in things; finally, there are certain boundaries, on either side of which moral rectitude cannot exist. I return now whence I digressed. Does no one, after the miser's example, like his own station, but rather praise those who have different pursuits; and pines, because his neighbour's she-goat bears a more distended udder; nor considers himself in relation to the greater multitude of poor; but labours to surpass, first one, and then another? Thus the richer man is always an obstacle to one that is hastening [to be rich]: as when the courser whirls along the chariot, dis-

[6] As if she had been another Clytæmnestra, the daughter of Tyndarus, who cut off her husband's head with an axe. *Fortissima Tyndaridarum*, from the accusative of *Tyndaris*, viz. *Tyndarida*, comes the noun *Tyndarida, Tyndaridæ*, &c. WATSON.

[7] *Pugnantia frontibus adversis* means what we express by "diametrically opposite." The allusion in *frontibus adversis* is to a fight between bulls or rams, who butt each other with their heads. M'CAUL.

missed from the place of starting; the charioteer presses upon those horses which outstrip his own, despising him that is left behind coming on among the last. Hence it is, that we rarely find a man who can say he has lived happy, and content with his past life, can retire from the world like a satisfied guest.[8] Enough for the present: nor will I add one word more, lest you should suspect that I have plundered the escrutoire of the blear-eyed Crispinus.

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## SATIRE II.

*Bad men, when they avoid certain vices, fall into their opposite extremes.*

THE tribes of female flute-players,[9] quacks, vagrants, mimics, blackguards;[10] all this set is sorrowful and dejected on account of the death of the singer Tigellius; for he was liberal [towards them]. On the other hand, this man, dreading to be called a spendthrift, will not give a poor friend wherewithal to keep off cold and pinching hunger. If you ask him, why he wickedly consumes the noble estate of his grandfather and father in tasteless gluttony, buying with borrowed money all sorts of dainties; he answers, because he is unwilling to be reckoned sordid, or of a mean spirit; he is praised by some, condemned by others. Fufidius, wealthy in lands, wealthy in money put out out at interest, is afraid of having the character of a rake and spendthrift. This fellow deducts 5 per cent. interest[11] from the principal [at the time of lending]; and,

[8] Cf. Lucret. iii. 951, "Cur non, ut plenus vitæ conviva recedis?" See Orelli.

[9] *Ambubaiarum.* "Women who played on the flute." It is derived from a Syrian word; for the people of that country usually excelled in this instrument. *Pharmacopolæ* is a general name for all who deal in spices, essence, and perfumes. TORR.

[10] *Mendici, mimæ, balatrones.* The priests of Isis and Cybele were beggars by profession, and under the veil of religion were often guilty of the most criminal excesses. *Mimæ* were players of the most debauched and dissolute kind; and *balatrones*, in general, signifies all scoundrels, buffoons, and parasites, who had their name, according to the old commentator, from Servilius Balatro. *Balatrones hoc genus omne*, for *omne hoc balatronum genus*, is a remarkable sort of construction. TORR. SAN.

[11] *Quinas hic capiti mercedes exsecat. Caput* is the principal; *merces* the interest; and *exsecare* is to deduct the interest before the money is

the more desperate in his circumstances any one is, the more severely he pinches him: he hunts out the names [12] of young fellows, that have just put on the toga virilis under rigid fathers. Who does not cry out, O sovereign Jupiter! when he has heard [of such knavery]? But [you will say, perhaps,] this man expends upon himself in proportion to his gain. You can hardly believe how little a friend he is to himself: insomuch that the father, whom Terence's comedy introduces as living miserable after he had caused his son to run away from him, did not torment himself worse than he. Now if any one should ask, "To what does this matter tend?" To this; while fools shun [one sort of] vices, they fall upon their opposite extremes. Malthinus walks with his garments trailing upon the ground; there is another droll fellow, who [goes] with them tucked up even to his middle; Rufillus smells like perfume itself, Gorgonius like a he-goat. There is no mean. There are some who would not keep company with a lady, unless her modest garment perfectly conceal her feet. Another, again, will only have such as take their station in a filthy brothel. When a certain noted spark came out of a stew, the divine Cato [greeted] him with this sentence: "Proceed (says he) in your virtuous course. For, when once foul lust has inflamed the veins, it is right for young fellows to come hither, in comparison of their meddling with other men's wives." I should not be willing to be commended on such terms, says Cupiennius, an admirer of the silken veil.

Ye, that do not wish well to the proceedings of adulterers, it is worth your while to hear how they are hampered on all sides; and that their pleasure, which happens to them but seldom, is interrupted with a great deal of pain, and often in the midst of very great dangers. One has thrown himself headlong from the top of a house: another has been whipped al-

lent. For instance, Fufidius lent a hundred pounds, and at the end of the month the borrower was to pay him a hundred and five, principal and interest. But he gives only ninety-five pounds, deducting his interest when he lends the money, which thus increases in twenty months equal to his principal. The laws allowed a usury called *usura centesima*, which doubled the capital sum in a hundred months, or eight years and four months. TORR.

[12] *Nomina sectatur.* *Nomen* signifies a debt, because the borrower gave the lender a note of acknowledgment for the money, signed with his name. The laws forbade lending money to minors, or persons under the age of twenty-five years. CRUQ.

most to death: a third, in his flight, has fallen into a merciless gang of thieves: another has paid a fine, [to avoid] corporal [punishment]: the lowest servants have treated another with the vilest indignities. Moreover, this misfortune happened to a certain person, he entirely lost his manhood. Every body said, it was with justice: Galba denied it.

But how much safer is the traffic among [women] of the second rate! I mean the freed-women: after which Sallustius is not less mad, than he who commits adultery. But if he had a mind to be good and generous, as far as his estate and reason would direct him, and as far as a man might be liberal with moderation; he would give a sufficiency, not what would bring upon himself ruin and infamy. However, he hugs himself in this one [consideration]; this he delights in, this he extols; "I meddle with no matron." Just as Marsæus, the lover of Origo,[13] he who gives his paternal estate and seat to an actress, says, "I never meddle with other men's wives." But you have with actresses, you have with common strumpets: whence your reputation derives a greater perdition, than your estate. What, is it abundantly sufficient to avoid the person, and not the [vice] which is universally noxious? To lose one's good name, to squander a father's effects, is in all cases an evil. What is the difference, [then, with regard to yourself,] whether you sin with the person of a matron, a maiden, or a prostitute?[14]

Villius, the son-in-law of Sylla, (by this title alone he was misled,) suffered [for his commerce] with Fausta an adequate and more than adequate punishment, by being drubbed and stabbed, while he was shut out, that Longarenus might enjoy her within. Suppose this [young man's] mind had addressed him in the words of his appetite, perceiving such evil consequences: "What would you have? Did I ever, when my ardour was at the highest, demand a woman descended from a great consul, and covered with robes of quality?" What could he answer? Why, "the girl was

[13] Origo. There lived in Horace's time three famous courtesans at Rome; Origo, Cytheris, and Arbuscula, all comedians. The poet was probably acquainted with them all. We are at a loss to know who Marsæus was. WATSON.

[14] *Togatâ*. A prostitute. Women of this kind were obliged, when they went abroad, to wear a robe, called *toga*. The resemblance of it to the robe worn by men, made it a mark of infamy. FRAN.

sprung from an illustrious father." But how much better things, and how different from this, does nature, abounding in stores of her own, recommend; if you would only make a proper use of them, and not confound what is to be avoided with that which is desirable! Do you think it is of no consequence, whether your distresses arise from your own fault or from [a real deficiency] of things? Wherefore, that you may not repent [when it is too late], put a stop to your pursuit after matrons; whence more trouble is derived, than you can obtain of enjoyment from success. Nor has [this particular matron], amidst her pearls and emeralds, a softer thigh, or limbs more delicate than yours, Cerinthus; nay, the prostitutes are frequently preferable. Add to this, that [the prostitute] bears about her merchandise without any varnish, and openly shows what she has to dispose of; nor, if she has aught more comely than ordinary, does she boast and make an ostentation of it, while she is industrious to conceal that which is offensive. This is the custom with men of fortune: when they buy horses, they inspect them covered: that, if a beautiful forehand (as often) be supported by a tender hoof, it may not take in the buyer, eager for the bargain, because the back is handsome, the head little, and the neck stately. This they do judiciously. Do not you, [therefore, in the same manner] contemplate the perfections of each [fair one's] person with the eyes of Lynceus; but be blinder than Hypsæa, when you survey such parts as are deformed. [You may cry out,] "O what a leg! O what delicate arms!" But [you suppress] that she is low-hipped, short-waisted, with a long nose, and a splay foot. A man can see nothing but the face of a matron, who carefully conceals her other charms, unless it be a Catia. But if you will seek after forbidden charms, (for the [circumstance of their being forbidden] makes you mad after them,) surrounded as they are with a fortification, many obstacles will then be in your way: such as guardians, the sedan, dressers, parasites, the long robe hanging down to the ancles, and covered with an upper garment; a multiplicity of circumstances, which will hinder you from having a fair view. The other throws no obstacles in your way; through the silken vest you may discern her, almost as well as if she was naked; that she has neither a bad leg, nor a disagreeable foot, you may survey her form perfectly with your eye. Or would

you choose to have a trick put upon you, and your money extorted, before the goods are shown you? [But perhaps you will sing to me these verses out of Callimachus.] As the huntsman pursues the hare in the deep snow, but disdains to touch it when it is placed before him: thus sings the rake, and applies it to himself; my love is like to this, for it passes over an easy prey, and pursues what flies from it. Do you hope that grief, and uneasiness, and bitter anxieties, will be expelled from your breast by such verses as these? Would it not be more profitable to inquire what boundary nature has affixed to the appetites, what she can patiently do without, and what she would lament the deprivation of, and to separate what is solid from what is vain? What! when thirst parches your jaws, are you solicitous for golden cups to drink out of? What! when you are hungry, do you despise every thing but peacock and turbot? When your passions are inflamed, and a common gratification is at hand, would you rather be consumed with desire than possess it? I would not: for I love such pleasures as are of easiest attainment. But she whose language is "By and by," "But for a small matter more," "If my husband should be out of the way," [is only] for petit-maîtres: and for himself, Philodemus says, he chooses her, who neither stands for a great price, nor delays to come when she is ordered. Let her be fair, and straight, and so far decent as not to appear desirous of seeming fairer than nature has made her. When I am in the company of such an one, she is my Ilia and Ægeria; I give her any name. Nor am I apprehensive, while I am in her company, lest her husband should return from the country; the door should be broken open; the dog should bark; the house, shaken, should resound on all sides with a great noise; the woman, pale [with fear], should bound away from me; lest the maid, conscious [of guilt], should cry out, she is undone; lest she should be in apprehension for her limbs, the detected wife for her portion, I for myself; lest I must run away with my clothes all loose, and bare-footed, for fear my money, or my person, or, finally, my character should be demolished. It is a dreadful thing to be caught: I could prove this, even if Fabius were the judge.

## SATIRE III.

*We ought to connive at the faults of our friends, and all offences are not to be ranked in the catalogue of crimes.*

THIS is a fault common to all singers, that among their friends they never are inclined to sing when they are asked, [but] unasked they never desist. Tigellius, that Sardinian, had this [fault]. Had Cæsar, who could have forced him to compliance, besought him on account of his father's friendship and his own, he would have had no success; if he himself was disposed, he would chant Io Bacche over and over, from the beginning of an entertainment to the very conclusion of it;[15] one while at the deepest pitch of his voice, at another time with that which answers to the highest string of the tetrachord.[16] There was nothing uniform in that fellow; frequently would he run along, as one flying from an enemy; more frequently [he walked], as if he bore [in procession] the sacrifice of Juno:[17] he had often two hundred slaves, often but ten: one while talking of kings and potentates, every thing that was magnificent; at another—"Let me have a three-legged table, and a cellar of clean salt, and a gown which, though coarse, may be sufficient to keep out the cold." Had you given ten hundred thousand sesterces[18] to this moder-

[15] "Literally," from the egg to the apples," for eggs were served first, and fruit last.

[16] The four strings of this instrument were called by the Greeks ὑπάτη (*subsuma*), Παρυπάτη (*subsuma*), Παρανήτη (*pene ima*), and Νήτη (*Ima*). Thus the *summa vox*, which answers to the highest string, *summa chorda*, must signify the bass, and *ima vox*, that strikes the same tone with *ima chorda*, must signify the treble."—F. *Summá* should be joined with *chordâ*, not *voce*. G. **Citaret*. Bentley remarks that this is a forensic word, and cannot be put for *recitaret*, besides that *citare Io Bacchē* is not Latin. He reads *iteraret*. The Librarians wrote *ter*, *cer*, and *ler*, in a compendious form thus ˜ over its natural place, thus the word ITARET, with a circumflex over I, and hence CITARET. M'CAUL.

[17] This grave and solemn march, although a religious ceremony in its place, yet, when improperly used, is affectation and impertinence. The solemnity of this procession became a proverb, Ἡραῖον βαδίζειν, *to walk like Juno*. TORR.

[18] The *sestertium* among the Romans was about 7*l.* 16*s.* of our money and contained a thousand *sestertii*. Their manner of reckoning was this: when a numeral noun agreed in gender and number with *sestertius*, it

ate man who was content with such small matters, in five days' time there would be nothing in his bags. He sat up at nights, [even] to day-light; he snored out all the day. Never was there any thing so inconsistent with itself. Now some person may say to me, "What are you? Have you no faults?" Yes, others; but others, and perhaps of a less culpable nature.

When Mænius railed at Novius in his absence: "Hark ye," says a certain person, "are you ignorant of yourself? or do you think to impose yourself upon us a person we do not know?" "As for me, I forgive myself," quoth Mænius. This is a foolish and impious self-love, and worthy to be stigmatized. When you look over your own vices, winking at them, as it were, with sore eyes; why are you with regard to those of your friends as sharp-sighted as an eagle, or the Epidaurian serpent? But, on the other hand, it is your lot that your friends should inquire into your vices in turn. [A certain person] is a little too hasty in his temper; not well calculated for the sharp-witted sneers [19] of these men: he may be made a jest of because his gown hangs awkwardly, he [at the same time] being trimmed in a very rustic manner, and his wide shoe hardly sticks to his foot. But he is so good, that no man can be better; but he is your friend: but an immense genius is concealed under this unpolished person of his. Finally, sift yourself thoroughly, whether nature has originally sown the seeds of any vice in you, or even an ill habit [has done it]. For the fern, fit [only] to be burned, overruns the neglected fields.

Let us return from our digression. As his mistress's disagreeable failings escape the blinded lover, or even give him pleasure, (as Hagna's wen does to Balbinus,) I could wish that

denoted precisely so many *sestertii*, as *decem sestertii*, just so many; but if the noun was joined to the genitive plural of *sestertius*, it signified so many thousands; as *decem sestertium*, ten thousand *sestertii*. If the adverb numeral was joined to the genitive plural, it denoted so many hundred thousand, as *decies sestertium*, ten hundred thousand *sestertii*. Sometimes they put the adverb by itself, and sometimes added the numeral noun to it; as in this place *decies centena*, ten hundred *sestertia*, or ten hundred thousand *sestertii*. WATSON.

[19] *Acutis naribus*, is the direct opposition to *naribus obesis*, which the Latins used to signify a stupid person, who wants the natural quickness and sharpness of the senses. SAN.

we erred in this manner with regard to friendship, and that virtue had affixed a reputable appellation to such an error. And as a father ought not to contemn his son, if he has any defect, in the same manner we ought not [to contemn] our friend. The father calls his squinting boy, a pretty leering rogue; and if any man has a little despicable brat, such as the abortive Sisyphus[20] formerly was, he calls it a sweet moppet: this [child] with distorted legs, [the father] in a fondling voice calls one of the Vari; and another, who is club-footed, he calls a Scaurus.[21] [Thus, does] this friend of yours live more sparingly than ordinarily? Let him be styled a man of frugality. Is another impertinent, and apt to brag a little? He requires to be reckoned entertaining to his friends. But [another] is too rude, and takes greater liberties than are fitting. Let him be esteemed a man of sincerity and bravery. Is he too fiery? Let him be numbered among persons of spirit. This method, in my opinion, both unites friends, and preserves them in a state of union. But we invert the very virtues themselves, and are desirous of throwing dirt upon the untainted vessel. Does a man of probity live among us? he is a person of singular diffidence;[22] we give him the name of a dull and fat-headed fellow. Does this man avoid every snare, and lay himself open to no ill-designing villain; since we live amidst such a race, where keen envy and accusations are flourishing? Instead of a sensible and wary man, we call him a disguised and subtle fellow. And is any one more open, [and less reserved] than usual in such a degree as I often have presented myself to you, Mæcenas, so as perhaps impertinently to interrupt a person reading, or musing, with any kind of prate? We cry, "[this fellow] actually wants com-

[20] Sisyphus. The dwarf of Mark Antony the triumvir. He was of a diminutive stature, scarcely two foot high, but of a very acute wit; whence he got the name of Sisyphus; for Sisyphus was so remarkable for his dexterity and cunning, that *Sisyphi artes* came to be a proverb. WATSON.

[21] *Balbutit Scaurum.* Rutgersius informs us that all these names, *Strabo*, *Pætus*, *Pullus*, *Varus*, and *Scaurus* are surnames of illustrious Roman families, from whence fathers gave them to their children, to cover their deformities with names of dignity. This is one of many beauties in the original, which it is impossible to preserve in a translation. FRAN.

[22] But Orelli interprets "demissus" to mean "abjectus, pusilli animi." See his judicious note.

mon sense."[23] Alas! how indiscreetly do we ordain a severe law against ourselves! For no one is born without vices: he is the best man who is encumbered with the least. When my dear friend, as is just, weighs my good qualities against my bad ones, let him, if he is willing to be beloved, turn the scale to the majority of the former, (if I have indeed a majority of good qualities,) on this condition, he shall be placed in the same balance. He who requires that his friend should not take offence at his own protuberances, will excuse his friend's little warts. It is fair that he who entreats a pardon for his own faults, should grant one in his turn.

Upon the whole,[24] forasmuch as the vice anger, as well as others inherent in foolish [mortals], cannot be totally eradicated, why does not human reason make use of its own weights and measures; and so punish faults, as the nature of the thing demands? If any man should punish with the cross a slave, who being ordered to take away the dish should gorge the half-eaten fish and warm sauce;[25] he would, among people in their senses, be called a madder man than Labeo.[26]

[23] *Communi sensu planè caret.* He wants an understanding that distinguishes the common decencies to be observed in addressing the great. Such was the *Communis sensus* among the Romans, for which we have no expression in English. *Sit in beneficio* sensus communis: *tempus, locum, personas observet.* Seneca. *Quæ versantur in consuetudine reipublicæ;* in sensu hominum communi, *in naturâ, in moribus, comprehendenda esse oratori puto.* Cicero de Oratore. BENT.

Lord Shaftesbury explains the *sensus communis* in Juvenal, *that sense which regards the common good, the public welfare.* A sense, according to the ingenious author, seldom found among the great.

*Raro enim ferme sensus communis in illâ*
*Fortunâ.*——————

[24] The second part of the satire begins here. The Stoics called all vicious people *fools, stultos. Quatenus* is frequently used by our poet for *quoniam, since that.* FRAN.

[25] *Tepidumque ligurrierit jus.* Horace, to excuse the slave, says, that the sauce was yet warm, *tepidum*, and therefore more tempting. For the same reason, he says, the fish was half eaten. CRUQ.

[26] *Labeone insanior.* The Scholiasts, commentators, and interpreters tell us, that Horace means Marcus Antistius Labeo, who, in the spirit of liberty, frequently opposed Augustus in the senate, when he attempted any alterations in the state. *Agitabat eum libertas nimia et vecors,* says Seneca; which might justly render him odious to Augustus. But whatever respect our poet had for his emperor, yet we never find that he treats the patrons of liberty with outrage. Nor can we well imagine that

How much more irrational and heinous a crime is this! Your friend has been guilty of a small error, (which, unless you forgive, you ought to be reckoned a sour, ill-natured fellow,) you hate and avoid him, as a debtor does Ruso;[27] who, when the woeful calends come upon the unfortunate man, unless he procures the interest or capital by hook or by crook, is compelled to hear his miserable stories with his neck stretched out like a slave. [Should my friend] in his liquor water my couch, or has he thrown down a jar carved by the hands of Evander;[28] shall he for this [trifling] affair, or because in his hunger he has taken a chicken before me out of my part of the dish, be the less agreeable friend to me? [If so], what could I do if he was guilty of theft, or had betrayed things committed to him in confidence, or broken his word. They who are pleased [to rank all] faults nearly on an equality, are troubled when they come to the truth of the matter: sense

he dare thus cruelly brand a man of Labeo's abilities, riches, power, and employments in the state; to whom Augustus himself offered the consulship. Probably the person here intended was publicly known to have been guilty of some folly not unlike what our poet mentions. Dr. Bentley hath found a Labienus in the time of Augustus, whose character fits this passage extremely well; and whom he therefore recommends to a place in the text. FRAN.

[27] The alternative with Ruso was either ruin from extortion, or misery from listening to his writings. If his wretched creditors could not pay him, then they were condemned to hear him read his works. Perhaps some might prefer considering *historias* used in the sense of "tedious narration," and refer it to the long schedule of the items in his account. **Audit.* Asinius Pollio first introduced the custom of reciting one's own compositions at Rome. M'CAUL.

[28] *Evandri manibus tritum.—Tornatum, cælatum, fabricatum. Hinc radibus trivere rotis*, Virgil. *Vitrum aliud flatu figuratur, aliud torno teritur*, Plin. But as the Latins used the word *toreumata* to signify any works, either turned or wrought by the chisel, because they were made by the same workmen, Sanadon thinks the poet probably means, that this plate was engraved with an instrument. The Scholiast tells us, that this Evander was carried from Athens to Rome by Mark Antony, and that he excelled in sculpture and engraving. They who believe that Horace means king Evander, would not only persuade us that this plate must have been preserved so many ages by some uncommon good fortune, but have unluckily placed a vessel so valuable on a monarch's table, whose palace was a cottage, his throne a chair of ordinary wood, his beds made of leaves or rushes, and his tapestry the skins of beasts. *Res inopes Evandrus habebat.* Dr. Bentley denies that the Latins ever used *tritum* to signify *cælatum*, *perfectum*, and he therefore recommends *tortum* to us, on the authority of an ancient manuscript. FRAN.

and morality are against them, and utility itself,[29] the mother almost of right and of equity.

When [rude] animals, they crawled[30] forth upon the first-formed earth, the mute and dirty herd fought with their nails and fists for their acorn and caves, afterwards with clubs, and finally with arms which experience had forged: till they found out words and names, by which they ascertained their language and sensations: thenceforward they began to abstain from war, to fortify towns, and establish laws: that no person should be a thief, a robber, or an adulterer. For before Helen's time there existed [many] a woman who was the dismal cause of war: but those fell by unknown deaths, whom pursuing uncertain venery, as the bull in the herd, the strongest slew. It must of necessity be acknowledged, if you have a mind to turn over the æras and annals of the world, that laws were invented from an apprehension of the natural injustice [of mankind]. Nor can nature separate what is unjust from what is just, in the same manner as she distinguishes what is good from its reverse, and what is to be avoided from that which is to be sought: nor will reason persuade men to this, that he who breaks down the cabbage-stalk of his neighbour, sins in as great a measure, and in the same manner, as he who steals by night things consecrated to the gods. Let there be a settled standard, that may inflict adequate punishments upon crimes; lest you should persecute any one with the horrible thong, who is only deserving of a slight whipping. For I am not apprehensive, that you should correct with the rod one that deserves to suffer severer stripes; since you assert that pilfering is an equal crime with highway robbery, and threaten that you would prune off with an undistinguishing hook little and great vices, if mankind were to give you the sovereignty over them. If he be rich, who is wise, and a good shoe-

[29] Horace endeavours to prove, according to the doctrine of Epicurus, that justice and injustice arise only from laws, and that laws have no other foundation than public utility, by which he means the happiness of civil society. On the contrary, the Stoics asserted, that justice and injustice have their first principles in nature itself, and the first appearance of reason in the mind of man. SAN.

[30] *Cùm prorepserunt.* This expression is extremely proper for the system of Epicurus, who believed, that the first race of men rose out of the earth, in which they were formed by a mixture of heat and moisture. TORR.

maker, and alone handsome, and a king, why do you wish for that which you are possessed of? You do not understand what Chrysippus,[31] the father [of your sect], says: "The wise man never made himself shoes nor slippers: nevertheless, the wise man is a shoe-maker." How so? In the same manner, though Hermogenes be silent, he is a fine singer notwithstanding, and an excellent musician: as the subtle [lawyer] Alfenus,[32] after every instrument of his calling was thrown aside, and his shop shut up, was [still] a barber: thus is the wise man of all trades, thus is he a king. O greatest of great kings, the waggish boys pluck you by the beard; whom unless you restrain with your staff, you will be jostled by a mob all about you, and you may wretchedly bark and burst your lungs in vain. Not to be tedious: while you, my king, shall go to the farthing bath, and no guard shall attend you, except the absurd Crispinus; my dear friends will both pardon me in any matter in which I shall foolishly offend, and I in turn will cheerfully put up with their faults; and, though a private man, I shall live more happily than you, a king.

## SATIRE IV.

*He apologizes for the liberties taken by satiric poets in general, and particularly by himself.*

THE poets Eupolis, and Cratinus, and Aristophanes, and others, who are authors of the ancient comedy,[33] if there was

[31] Chrysippus is here pleasantly called father, because he was the first who explained, in this absurd manner, these excellent precepts of Zeno, which teach us, that wisdom sets above kings; and that the throne she offers to us is preferable to that of the greatest monarchs. TORR.

[32] Alfenus Varus, a shoe-maker of Cremona, who, growing out of conceit with his employment, quitted it, and came to Rome; where attending the lectures of Servius Sulpicius, a celebrated professor of law, he made so great proficience in that science, that he soon came to be esteemed one of the ablest lawyers of his time, and his name often occurs in the Pandects. He was afterwards advanced to the highest honours of the empire; for we find him consul in the year of the city 755. ED. DUBL.

[33] *Comœdia prisca.* Comedy was divided into ancient and modern. In the first, the subject and the names of the actors were real. In the second, the drama was formed on history, but the names of the actors

any person deserving to be distinguished for being a rascal or a thief, an adulterer or a cut-throat, or in any shape an infamous fellow, branded him with great freedom. Upon these [models] Lucilius entirely depends, having imitated them, changing only their feet[34] and numbers: a man of wit, of great keenness,[35] inelegant in the composition of verse: for in this respect he was faulty; he would often, as a great feat, dictate two hundred verses in an hour, standing in the same position. As he flowed muddily, there was [always] something that one would wish to remove; he was verbose, and too lazy to endure the fatigue of writing—of writing accurately: for, with regard to the quantity [of his works], I make no account of it. See! Crispinus challenges me even for ever so little a wager.[36] Take, if you dare, take your tablets, and I will take mine; let there be a place, a time, and persons appointed to see fair play: let us see who can write the most. The gods have done a good part by me, since they have framed me of an humble and meek disposition, speaking but seldom, briefly: but do you, [Crispinus,] as much as you will, imitate air which is shut up in leathern bellows, perpetually puffing till the fire softens the iron. Fannius is a happy man, who, of his own accord, has presented his manuscripts[37] and picture [to the Palatine Apollo]; when not a soul will peruse

were invented. In the third, both the story and actors were formed by the poet. ED. DUBL.

[34] *Mutatis pedibus.* Ennius and Pacuvius had written satires before Lucilius. He was rather the restorer than inventor of this kind of poetry; he formed himself upon the Grecian comedy, and only changed the measure of his verse, hexameter for iambics. FRAN.

[35] *Emunctæ naris.* Of a sagacious, penetrating genius, to discover the follies of mankind, and of an agreeable, spirited, raillery, to turn them into ridicule, *facetus.* Such is the character of Lucilius by Cicero and Quintilian, *perurbanum* and *abundè salis.* FRAN.

[36] *Minimo me provocat.* We should understand *pignore* or *pretio;* nor is there any instance in the Latin tongue of *provocare minimo digito,* as the commentators explain it. A man well assured of the truth of what he asserts, is willing to bet a large wager against a small one, which Horace means by *minimo provocare.* SAN.

[37] *Ultro delatis capsis.* When a poet was generally esteemed, his works and his statue were placed in the public libraries. But Horace congratulates Fannius upon the happiness of finding a method of immortalizing his name, without being obliged to pass through the usual forms. He thought he had a right to take an honour, which he was conscious he deserved, and perhaps imagined it a proper manner of resenting the public insensibility of his merit. DAC. SAN.

my writings, who am afraid to rehearse in public, on this account, because there are certain persons who can by no means relish this kind [of satiric writing], as there are very many who deserve censure. Single any man out of the crowd; he either labours under a covetous disposition, or under wretched ambition. One is mad in love with married women, another with youths; a third the splendour of silver-captivates: Albius is in raptures with brass; another exchanges his merchandise from the rising sun, even to that with which the western regions are warmed: but he is hurried headlong through dangers, as dust wrapped up in a whirlwind; in dread lest he should lose any thing out of his capital, or [in hope] that he may increase his store. All these are afraid of verses, they hate poets. "He has hay on his horn,[38] [they cry;] avoid him at a great distance: if he can but raise a laugh for his own diversion, he will not spare any friend: and whatever he has once blotted upon his paper, he will take a pleasure in letting all the boys and old women know, as they return from the bakehouse or the lake." But, come on, attend to a few words on the other side of the question.

In the first place, I will except myself out of the number of those I would allow to be poets: for one must not call it sufficient to tag a verse: nor if any person, like me, writes in a style bordering on conversation, must you esteem him to be a poet. To him who has genius, who has a soul of a diviner cast, and a greatness of expression, give the honour of this appellation. On this account some have raised the question, whether comedy be a poem or not: because an animated spirit and force is neither in the style, nor the subject-matter: bating that it differs from prose by a certain measure, it is mere prose. But [one may object to this, that even in comedy] an inflamed father rages, because his dissolute son, mad after a prostitute mistress, refuses a wife with a large portion; and (what is an egregious scandal) rambles about drunk with flambeaux by day-light. Yet could Pomponius, were his father alive, hear less severe reproofs! Wherefore it is not

[38] *Fœnum habet in cornu.* A metaphorical expression, taken from a custom of tying hay on the horns of a mischievous bull. The laws of the Twelve Tables ordered, that the owner of the beast should pay for what damages it committed, or deliver it to the person injured. "Si quadrupes pauperiem faxit, dominus sarcito, noxæve dedito." ED. DUBL.

sufficient to write verses merely in proper language; which, if you take to pieces, any person may storm in the same manner as the father in the play. If from these verses which I write at this present, or those that Lucilius did formerly, you take away certain pauses and measures, and make that word which was first in order hindermost, by placing the latter [words] before those that preceded [in the verse]; you will not discern the limbs of a poet, when pulled in pieces, in the same manner as you would were you to transpose ever so [these lines of Ennius]:

> When discord dreadful bursts the brazen bars,
> And shatters iron locks to thunder forth her wars.[39]

So far of this matter; at another opportunity [I may investigate] whether [a comedy] be a true poem or not: now I shall only consider this point, whether this [satiric] kind of writing be deservedly an object of your suspicion. Sulcius the virulent, and Caprius hoarse with their malignancy, walk [openly], and with their libels too [in their hands]; each of them a singular terror to robbers: but if a man lives honestly and with clean hands, he may despise them both. Though you be like highwaymen, Cœlus and Byrrhus, I am not [a common accuser], like Caprius and Sulcius; why should you be afraid of me? No shop nor stall holds my books, which the sweaty hands of the vulgar and of Hermogenes Tigellius may soil. I repeat to nobody, except my intimates, and that when I am pressed; nor any where, and before any body. There are many, who recite their writings in the middle of the forum; and who [do it] while bathing: the closeness of the place, [it seems,] gives melody to the voice. This pleases coxcombs, who never consider whether they do this to no purpose, or at an unseasonable time. But you, says he, delight to hurt people, and this you do out of a mischievous disposition. From what source do you throw this calumny upon me? Is any one then your voucher, with whom I have lived? He who backbites his absent friend; [nay more,] who does not defend, at another's accusing him; who affects to raise loud laughs in company, and the reputation of a funny fellow who can feign things he never saw; who cannot keep secrets;

[39] Literally, "After that dreadful discord burst asunder the iron-bound doors and gates of war."

he is a dangerous man: be you, Roman, aware of him. You may often see it [even in crowded companies], where twelve sup together on three couches; one of which shall delight at any rate to asperse the rest, except him who furnishes the bath;[40] and him too afterwards in his liquor, when truth-telling Bacchus opens the secrets of his heart. Yet this man seems entertaining, and well-bred, and frank to you, who are an enemy to the malignant: but do I, if I have laughed because the fop Rufillus smells all perfumes, and Gorgonius, like a he-goat, appear invidious and a snarler to you? If by any means mention happen to be made of the thefts of Petillius Capitolinus[41] in your company, you defend him after your manner: [as thus,] Capitolinus has had me for a companion and friend from childhood, and on being applied to, has done many things on my account: and I am glad that he lives secure in the city; but I wonder, notwithstanding, how he evaded that sentence. This is the very essence of black malignity,[42] this is mere malice itself: which crime, that it shall be far remote from my writings, and prior to them from my mind, I promise, if I can take upon me to promise any thing sincerely of myself. If I shall say any thing too freely, if perhaps too ludicrously, you must favour me by your indulgence with this allowance. For my excellent father inured me to this custom, that by noting each particular vice I might avoid it by the example [of others]. When he exhorted me that I should live thriftily, frugally, and content with what he had provided for me; don't you see, [would he say,] how wretchedly the son of Albius lives? and how miserably Barrus? A strong lesson to hinder any one from squandering away his patrimony. When he would deter me from filthy fondness for a light woman: [take care, said he,] that you do not resemble Sectanus. That I might not follow adulteresses, when I could enjoy a lawful amour: the character,

[40] *Præter eum, qui præbet aquam.* Their host, who provided water for the bath; a part of their entertainment to express the whole. SAN.

[41] The ancient commentator tells us, that Petillius was governor of the Capitol, from whence he was called Capitolinus; that he was accused of stealing a golden crown of Jupiter, and acquitted by the favour of Augustus. If there be any truth in this story, for we know not where the commentator found it, he was more probably surnamed from his theft, than for his government of the Capitol. FRAN.

[42] Properly, "the juice of the cuttle-fish."

cried he, of Trebonius, who was caught in the fact, is by no means creditable. The philosopher may tell you the reasons for what is better to be avoided, and what to be pursued. It is sufficient for me, if I can preserve the morality traditional from my forefathers, and keep your life and reputation inviolate, so long as you stand in need of a guardian: so soon as age shall have strengthened your limbs and mind, you will swim without cork. In this manner he formed me, as yet a boy: and whether he ordered me to do any particular thing: You have an authority for doing this: [then] he instanced some one out of the select magistrates:[43] or did he forbid me [any thing]; can you doubt, [says he,] whether this thing be dishonourable, and against your interest to be done, when this person and the other is become such a burning shame for his bad character [on these accounts]? As a neighbouring funeral dispirits sick gluttons, and through fear of death forces them to have mercy upon themselves; so other men's disgraces often deter tender minds from vices. From this [method of education] I am clear from all such vices, as bring destruction along with them: by lighter foibles, and such as you may excuse, I am possessed. And even from these, perhaps, a maturer age, the sincerity of a friend, or my own judgment, may make great reductions. For neither when I am in bed, or in the piazzas, am I wanting to myself: this way of proceeding is better; by doing such a thing I shall live more comfortably; by this means I shall render myself agreeable to my friends; such a transaction was not clever; what, shall I, at any time, imprudently commit any thing like it? These things I revolve in silence by myself. When I have any leisure, I amuse myself with my papers. This is one of those lighter foibles [I was speaking of]: to which if you do not grant your indulgence, a numerous band of poets shall come, which will take my part, (for we are many more in number,)[44] and, like the Jews, we will force you to come over to our numerous party.

[43] *Unum ex judicibus selectis.* The most eminent, and of greatest authority among the senatorial order; an order called *Sanctissimus*. Torrentius thinks the poet means the judges, whom the prætor chose out of all degrees of the magistracy, to relieve and assist him in his office. But this good father would probably have taken his examples out of a more numerous, yet not less venerable order. DAC.

[44] See Orelli.

## SATIRE V.[45]

*He describes a certain journey of his from Rome to Brundusium with great pleasantry.*

HAVING left mighty Rome, Aricia received me in but a middling inn: Heliodorus the rhetorician, most learned in the Greek language, was my fellow-traveller: thence we proceeded to Forum-Appi, stuffed with sailors and surly landlords. This stage, but one for better travellers[46] than we, being laggard we divided into two; the Appian way is less tiresome to bad travellers. Here I, on account of the water, which was most vile, proclaim war against my belly, waiting not without impatience for my companions whilst at supper. Now the night was preparing to spread her shadows upon the earth, and to display the constellations in the heavens. Then our slaves began to be liberal of their abuse to the watermen, and the watermen to our slaves. "Here bring to." "You are stowing in hundreds; hold, now sure there is enough." Thus while the fare is paid, and the mule fastened, a whole hour is passed away. The cursed gnats, and frogs of the fens, drive off repose. While the waterman and a passenger, well-soaked with plenty of thick wine, vie with one another in singing the praises of their absent mistresses: at length the passenger, being fatigued, begins to sleep; and the lazy waterman ties the halter of the mule turned out a-grazing to a stone, and snores, lying flat on his back. And now the day approached, when we saw the boat made no way; until a choleric fellow, one of the passengers, leaps out of the boat, and drubs the head and sides of both mule and waterman with a willow cudgel. At last we were scarcely set ashore at the

[45] Octavius and Antony, both aspiring to the sovereign power, must necessarily have had frequent quarrels and dissensions. Their reconciliations were of short continuance, because they were insincere. Among many negotiations, undertaken by their common friends to reconcile them, history mentions two more particularly. The first in the year 714, the other in 717, which was concluded by the mediation of Octavia, and to which our poet was carried by Mæcenas. SAN.

[46] *Præcinctis.* Prepared for travelling, i. e. *altius præcinctis*, "to those who were better travellers than we were." *Præcinctus* means having the dress tucked up, that it may not prevent exertion. Hence used for "diligent," "active." Compare Sat. ii. 8, 10. M'CAUL.

fourth hour.[47] We wash our faces and hands in thy water, O Feronia. Then, having dined, we crawled on three miles; and arrive under Anxur, which is built upon rocks that look white to a great distance. Mæcenas was to come here, as was the excellent Cocceius, both sent ambassadors on matters of great importance; having been accustomed to reconcile friends at variance.[48] Here, having got sore eyes, I was obliged to use the black ointment. In the mean time came Mæcenas, and Cocceius, and Fonteius Capito[49] along with them, a man of perfect polish,[50] and intimate with Mark Antony, no man more so.

Without regret we passed Fundi, where Aufidius Luscus was prætor,[51] laughing at the honours of that crazy scribe,[52]

[47] *Quartâ horâ.* The Romans during more than four hundred and fifty years never had names for the hours of the day. The twelve tables divided it into three parts; the rising sun, the setting sun, and mid-day. The hours of night and day were equal in number through the year; but from spring to autumn, those of the day were longer than those of the night, and from September to March the hours of night were longest. SAN.

[48] Three particulars demonstrate, that this journey was to the second conference at Brundusium. Fonteius is here joined with Mæcenas and Cocceius, but was not engaged in the first. The poet says, that Mæcenas and Cocceius had been before employed to reconcile Octavius and Antony, *soliti*, which must necessarily suppose the first congress in 714, when Horace had not been introduced to Mæcenas. MASSON.

[49] Fonteius Capito. Probably the father of him who was consul two years before the death of Augustus. He was here of the party of Antony, and Mæcenas on the side of Augustus. Cocceius was by way of an arbitrator between them, to settle their differences. *Homo factus ad unguem*, a complete man, every way accomplished. WATSON.

[50] *Ad unguem factus homo.* This figurative expression is taken from engravers in wood or marble, who used to pass their nail over the work, to know whether it were well polished. ERASMUS.

[51] *Prætore.* The colonies and municipal towns had the same dignities and magistracies as the city of Rome; senators, prætors, quæstors, and ædiles. It is difficult to know whether Fundi had a prætor chosen out of her own citizens, or whether he was sent from Rome. TORR.

[52] *Præmia scribæ.* Horace calls these robes *præmia scribæ*, because the secretaries in colonies and municipal towns were frequently raised to the dignity of the prætorship. The *toga prætexta* was a robe bordered with purple. *Tunica clavata* was a vest with two borders of purple laid like a lace upon the middle or opening of it, down to the bottom; in such a manner, as that when the vest was drawn close or buttoned, the two purple borders joined and seemed to be but one. If these borders were large, the vest was called *latus clavus*, or *tunica laticlavia;* if they were narrow, then it was named *angustus clavus*, *tunica angusticlavia.* These two sorts of tunics were worn to distinguish the magistrates in their em-

his prætexta, laticlave, and pan of incense.[53] At our next stage, being weary, we tarry in the city of the Mamurræ,[54] Murena complimenting us with his house,[55] and Capito with his kitchen.

The next day arises, by much the most agreeable to all: for Plotius, and Varius, and Virgil met us at Sinuessa; souls more candid ones than which the world never produced, nor is there a person in the world more bound to them than myself. Oh what embraces, and what transports were there! While I am in my senses, nothing can I prefer to a pleasant friend. The village, which is next adjoining to the bridge of Campania, accommodated us with lodging [at night]; and the public officers[56] with such a quantity of fuel and salt as they are obliged to [by law]. From this place the mules deposited their pack-saddles at Capua, betimes [in the morning]. Mæcenas goes to play [at tennis]; but I and Virgil to our repose: for to play at tennis is hurtful to weak eyes and feeble constitutions.

From this place the villa of Cocceius, situated above the Caudian inns, which abounds with plenty, receives us. Now, my muse, I beg of you briefly to relate the engagement between the buffoon Sarmentus and Messius Cicirrus; and from

ployments, and were very different from those worn by the common people, *tunicato popello*, which were closed before, and without any purple border. They were called *tunicæ rectæ*. SAN.

[53] *Prunæque batillum.* A pan for incense, frequently carried before the emperors, or those possessed of the sovereign authority. ED. DUBL.

[54] The stroke of satire here is of a delicate and almost imperceptible malignity. Formiæ, the city which Horace means, belonged to the Lamian family, whose antiquity was a great honour to it. But our poet paraphrases it by the name of a person, who was born there, and who had made his country famous in a very different manner. Mamurra was a Roman knight, who was infamous for his rapine, luxury, and debauchery. Catullus calls him *Decoctor Formianus*. TORR.

[55] Murena was brother of Licymnia, married afterwards to Mæcenas. He was condemned to death for conspiring against Augustus. Varius and Plotius Tucca were the persons to whom Augustus intrusted the correction of the Æneid, after Virgil's death, but with an order not to make any additions to it. FRAN.

[56] *Parochi.* Before the consulship of Lucius Posthumius, the magistrates of Rome travelled at the public charge, without being burthensome to the provinces. Afterwards commissaries were appointed in all the great roads to defray all expenses of those who were employed in the business of the state. They were obliged, by the *Lex Julia de provinciis*, to provide lodging, fire, salt, hay, straw, &c. ED. DUBL.

what ancestry descended each began the contest. The illustrious race of Messius—Oscan:[57] Sarmentus's mistress is still alive. Sprung from such families as these, they came to the combat. First, Sarmentus; "I pronounce thee to have the look of a mad horse." We laugh; and Messius himself [says], "I accept your challenge:" and wags his head. "O!" cries he, "if the horn were not cut off your forehead, what would you not do; since, maimed as you are, you bully at such a rate?" For a foul scar had disgraced the left part of Messius's bristly forehead. Cutting many jokes upon his Campanian disease, and upon his face, he desired him to exhibit Polyphemus's dance:[58] that he had no occasion for a mask, or the tragic buskins. Cicirrus [retorted] largely to these: he asked, whether he had consecrated his chain[59] to the household gods according to his vow; though he was a scribe, [he told him] his mistress's property in him was not the less. Lastly, he asked, how he ever came to run away; such a lank meagre fellow, for whom a pound of corn [a-day] would be ample.[60] We were so diverted, that we continued that supper to an unusual length.

Hence we proceed straight on for Beneventum; where the bustling landlord almost burned himself, in roasting some lean

[57] *Osci* is a nominative case, and we must construe it, *Osci sunt clarum genus Messii.* The Oscans gave to Messius his illustrious birth, a sufficient proof that he was an infamous scoundrel. The people who inhabited this part of Campania were guilty of execrable debaucheries. SAN.

[58] *Saltaret uti Cyclopa.* The raillery is founded on his gigantic size, and the villanous gash that Messius had on his forehead, which made him look so like a Polyphemus, that he might dance the part without buskins or a mask. To dance a Cyclops, a Glaucus, a Ganymede, a Leda, was an expression for representing their story by dancing. ED. DUBL.

[59] *Donásset jamne catenam.* Only the vilest slaves, or those who worked in the country, were chained. It appears by an epigram of Martial, that when they were set at liberty, they consecrated their chains to Saturn, because slavery was unknown under his reign. But when Messius asks Sarmentus whether he had dedicated his chain to the *Dii Lares*, he would reproach him with being a fugitive. These gods were invoked by travellers, because they presided over highways, from whence they were called *viales*. They themselves were always represented like travellers, as if they were ready to leave the house; *succincti*. Or Sarmentus was a slave so vile, that he knew no other gods, but those who stood on the hearth, and which it was his employment to keep clean. DAC.

[60] By the laws of the twelve tables, a slave was allowed a pound of corn a day. "Qui eum vinctum habebit, libras farris in dies dato." TURNEBUS.

thrushes: for, the fire falling through the old kitchen [floor], the spreading flame made a great progress towards the highest part of the roof. Then you might have seen the hungry guests and frightened slaves snatching their supper out [of the flames], and every body endeavouring to extinguish the fire.

After this Apulia began to discover to me her well-known mountains, which the Atabulus scorches [with his blasts]: and through which we should never have crept, unless the neighbouring village of Trivicus had received us, not without a smoke that brought tears into our eyes; occasioned by a hearth's burning some green boughs with the leaves upon them. Here, like a great fool as I was, I wait till midnight for a deceitful mistress: sleep, however, overcomes me, whilst meditating love; and disagreeable dreams make me ashamed of myself and every thing about me.

Hence we were bowled away in chaises twenty-four miles, intending to stop at a little town, which one cannot name in a verse, but it is easily enough known by description.[61] For water is sold here, though it is the worst in the world; but their bread is exceeding fine, insomuch that the wary traveller is used to carry it willingly on his shoulders; for [the bread] at Canusium is gritty; a pitcher of water is worth no more [than it is here]: which place was formerly built by the valiant Diomedes. Here Varius departs dejected from his weeping friends.

Hence we came to Rubi, fatigued: because we made a long journey, and it was rendered still more troublesome by the rains. Next day the weather was better, the road worse, even to the very walls of Barium that abounds in fish. In the next place Egnatia, which [seems to have] been built on troubled waters, gave us occasion for jests and laughter; for they wanted to persuade us, that at this sacred portal the incense melted without fire. The Jew Apella may believe this, not I. For I have learned [from Epicurus], that the gods dwell in a state of tranquillity; nor, if nature effect any wonder, that the anxious gods send it from the high canopy of the heavens.

Brundusium ends both my long journey, and my paper.

[61] This (as the Schol. informs us) was Equotuticum. The reason that it cannot occur in dactylics is, that the first is short, and the next two syllables long, whilst the penultimate is short. Were the first long, there could be no difficulty about introducing it. M'CAUL.

## SATIRE VI.

*Of true nobility.*

NOT, Mæcenas, though, of all the Lydians[62] that ever inhabited the Tuscan territories, no one is of a nobler family than yourself; and though you have ancestors both on father's and mother's side, that in times past have had the command of mighty legions; do you, as the generality are wont, toss up your nose at obscure people, such as me, who had [only] a freed-man[63] for my father: since you affirm that it is of no consequence of what parents any man is born, so that he be a man of merit. You persuade yourself, with truth, that before the dominion of Tullius, and the reign of one born a slave, frequently numbers of men, descended from ancestors of no rank, have both lived as men of merit, and have been distinguished by the greatest honours: [while] on the other hand Lævinus, the descendant of that famous Valerius, by whose means Tarquinius Superbus was expelled from his kingdom, was not a farthing more esteemed[64] [on account of his family, even] in the judgment of the people, with whose disposition you are well acquainted; who often foolishly bestow honours on the unworthy, and are from their stupidity slaves to a name: who are struck with admiration by inscriptions and statues. What is it fitting for us to do, who are far, very far removed from the vulgar [in our sentiments]? For grant it, that the people had rather confer a dignity on Lævinus than on Decius, who is a new man; and the censor

[62] *Lydorum quicquid Etruscos.* Mr. Dacier, upon the single authority of Dionysius Halicarnassensis, asserts that the Tuscans were not descended from the Lydians. Yet Horace had a poetical right to the tradition, as it was generally believed, although it might possibly be false. But it is supported by Herodotus, Tully, Virgil, Strabo, Servius, Pliny, Tacitus, Velleius, Seneca, Plutarch, Valerius Maximus, Silius, and Statius. SAN.

[63] In the first ages of the republic *libertinus* and *liberti filius* had the same signification; but some time before Cicero, as we are informed by Suetonius, the manner of speaking was changed, and from thence *libertus* and *libertinus* were used as synonymous terms to signify a man who was made free. SAN.

[64] *Licuisse.* Lævinus is here pleasantly set up to auction, for *licere* was the term used to signify raising the sale. TORR.

Appius would expel me [the senate-house], because I was not sprung from a sire of distinction: and that too deservedly, inasmuch as I rested not content in my own condition. But glory drags in her dazzling car the obscure as closely fettered as those of nobler birth. What did it profit you, O Tullius, to resume the robe that you [were forced] to lay aside, and become a tribune [again]? Envy increased upon you, which had been less, if you had remained in a private station. For when any crazy fellow has laced the middle of his leg with the sable buskins,[65] and has let flow the purple robe from his breast, he immediately hears; "Who is this man? Whose son is he?" Just as if there be any one, who labours under the same distemper as Barrus does, so that he is ambitious of being reckoned handsome; let him go where he will, he excites curiosity amongst the girls of inquiring into particulars; as what sort of face, leg, foot, teeth, hair, he has. Thus he who engages[66] to his citizens to take care of the city, the empire, and Italy, and the sanctuaries of the gods, forces every mortal to be solicitous, and to ask from what sire he is descended, or whether he is base by the obscurity of his mother. What? do you, the son of a Syrus,[67] a Dama, or a Dionysius, dare to cast down the citizens of Rome from the [Tarpeian] rock, or deliver them up to Cadmus [the executioner]? But, [you may say,] my colleague Novius sits[68] below me by one degree: for he is only what my father was. And therefore do you esteem yourself a Paulus or a Messala? But he, (Novius,) if two hundred carriages and three funerals were to meet in the forum, could make noise enough[69] to drown all their horns and trumpets:[70] this [kind of merit] at least has its weight with us.

[65] The buskins worn by senators were black, and sometimes white; those of the curule magistrates were red. TORR.

[66] *Sic qui promittit.* This was the form of a senator's and a magistrate's oath. CRUQ.

[67] *Syri, Damæ, aut Dionysi.* These three names are the names of slaves. *Damas* or *Dama* is a contraction of *Demetrius; Syrus* is frequently the slave in comedy. DAC.

[68] *Sedet* is a law word, properly applied to senators, prætors, and other judges when seated on the bench, in execution of their office. TORR.

[69] *Magna sonabit.* Funerals usually passed through the forum, and Novius could pronounce an oration with a voice of thunder. Horace laughs at his being made a senator for an accomplishment which could only entitle him to the office of a crier. DAC.

[70] Trumpets were used at the funerals of men, and flutes at those of

Now I return to myself, who am descended from a freed-man; whom every body nibbles at, as being descended from a freed-man. Now, because, Mæcenas, I am a constant guest of yours; but formerly, because a Roman legion was under my command, as being a military tribune. This latter case is different from the former: for, though any person perhaps might justly envy me that post of honour, yet could he not do so with regard to your being my friend! especially as you are cautious to admit such as are worthy; and are far from having any sinister ambitious views. I cannot reckon myself a lucky fellow on this account, as if it were by accident that I got you for my friend; for no kind of accident threw you in my way. That best of men, Virgil, long ago, and after him, Varius, told you what I was. When first I came into your presence, I spoke a few words in a broken manner (for childish bashfulness hindered me from speaking more); I did not tell you that I was the issue of an illustrious father: I did not [pretend] that I rode about the country on a Saturei-an horse, but plainly what I really was: you answer (as your custom is) a few words: I depart: and you re-invite me after the ninth month, and command me to be in the number of your friends. I esteem it a great thing that I pleased you, who distinguish probity from baseness, not by the illustrious-ness of a father, but by the purity of heart and feelings.

And yet if my disposition be culpable for a few faults, and those small ones, otherwise perfect, (as if you should condemn moles scattered over a beautiful skin,) if no one can justly lay to my charge avarice, nor sordidness, nor impure haunts; if, in fine, (to speak in my own praise,) I live undefiled, and innocent, and dear to my friends; my father was the cause of all this: who though a poor man on a lean farm, was unwilling to send me to a school under [the pedant] Flavius, where great boys, sprung from great centurions, having their satchels and tablets swung over their left arm, used to go with money in their hands the very day it was due;[71] but had the

children. The twelve tables confined them to ten in number. "Decem tibicines adhibeto, hoc plus ne facito." ED. DUBL.

[71] *Octonis referentes idibus æra.* The Romans had many stated times of paying their schoolmasters. Some imagine it was at the beginning, others at the end of the year, or at the grand festival of Minerva, called *quinquatrus*, or *quinquatria*, which began the 19th of March. But the *Minerval* then given to the master was not a salary but a voluntary present.

spirit to bring me a child to Romè, to be taught those arts which any Roman knight and senator can teach his own children. So that, if any person had considered my dress, and the slaves who attended me in so populous a city, he would have concluded that those expenses were supplied to me out of some hereditary estate. He himself, of all others the most faithful guardian, was constantly about every one of my preceptors. Why should I multiply words? He preserved me chaste (which is the first honour of virtue) not only from every actual guilt, but likewise from [every] foul imputation, nor was he afraid lest any should turn it to his reproach, if I should come to follow a business attended with small profits, in capacity of an auctioneer, or (what he was himself) a tax-gatherer. Nor [had that been the case] should I have complained. On this account the more praise is due to him, and from me a greater degree of gratitude. As long as I am in my senses, I can never be ashamed of such a father as this, and therefore shall not apologize [for my birth], in the manner that numbers do, by affirming it to be no fault of theirs. My language and way of thinking is far different from such persons. For if nature were to make us from a certain term of years to go over our past time again, and [suffer us] to choose other parents, such as every man for ostentation's sake would wish for himself; I, content with my own, would not assume those that are honoured with the ensigns and seats of state; [for which I should seem] a madman in the opinion of the mob, but in yours, I hope, a man of sense; because I should be unwilling to sustain a troublesome burden, being by no means used to it. For I must [then] immediately set about acquiring a larger fortune, and more people must be complimented; and this and that companion must be taken along, so that I could neither take a jaunt into the country, or a journey by myself; more attendants and more horses must be fed; coaches must be drawn. Now, if I please, I can go as far as Tarentum on my bob-tailed mule, whose loins the port-

This word has no particular force here. It merely means that the Ides were eight days from the Nones. With regard to *idibus* comp. Sat. i. 3, 87. M'CAUL. It appears from a passage of Martial that the Roman youths had full four months' vacation; hence *Octonis idibus* denote the period of tuition: trans. "bringing the money for eight months' instruction." WHEELER.

manteau galls with its weight, as does the horseman his shoulders. No one will lay to my charge such sordidness as he may, Tullius, to you; when five slaves follow you, a prætor, along the Tiburtian way, carrying a travelling kitchen, and a vessel of wine. Thus I live more comfortably, O illustrious senator, than you, and than thousands of others. Wherever I have a fancy, I walk by myself: I inquire the price of herbs and bread: I traverse the tricking circus,[72] and the forum often in the evening: I stand listening amongst the fortune-tellers: thence I take myself home to a plate of onions, pulse, and pancakes. My supper is served up by three slaves; and a white stone slab supports two cups and a brimmer: near the salt-cellar stands a homely cruet[73] with a little bowl, earthen ware from Campania. Then I go to rest; by no means concerned that I must rise in the morning, and pay a visit to the statue of Marsyas,[74] who denies that he is able to bear the look of the younger Novius. I lie a-bed to the fourth hour; after that I take a ramble, or having read or written what may amuse me in my privacy, I am anointed with oil, but not with such as the nasty Nacca, when he robs the lamps. But when the sun, become more violent, has reminded me to go to bathe, I avoid the Campus Martius[75] and the game of hand-ball. Having dined in a temperate manner, just enough to hinder me from having an empty stomach, during the rest of the day I trifle in my own house. This is the life of those who are free from wretched and burdensome ambition: with such things as these I comfort myself, in a way to live more

[72] He calls the circus *fallacem*, deceiving, because diviners, fortune-tellers, interpreters of dreams, astrologers, and impostors of all sorts usually assemble there. TURNEB.

[73] *Echino vilis.* We cannot precisely determine what the *guttus* and *echinus* were. Mr. Dacier thinks the first was a little urn, out of which they poured water into a basin, *echinus*, to wash their hands. ED. DUBL.

[74] Marsyas, a satyr, who challenging Apollo to a trial of skill in music, was overcome and flayed alive by the god. A statue was erected to him in the forum, opposite to the rostra where the judges determined causes, and the poet pleasantly says, it stood in such an attitude, as showed its indignation to behold a man who had been a slave, now sitting among the magistrates of Rome. The satyr forgets, in his resentment of such a sight, the pain of being flayed alive. TORR.

[75] *Fugio campum, lusumque trigonem. Campus* is the *Campus Martius*, and *lusus trigon* was a game played with a ball, otherwise called *lusus trigonalis*, because the players stood in a triangle. Martial speaks of it in more than one place. FRAN.

delightfully than if my grandfather had been a quæstor, and father and uncle too.

## SATIRE VII.

*He humorously describes a squabble betwixt Rupilius and Persius.*

In what manner the mongrel Persius[76] revenged the filth and venom of Rupilius, surnamed King, is I think known to all the blind men and barbers. This Persius, being a man of fortune, had very great business at Clazomenæ, and, into the bargain, certain troublesome litigations with King; a hardened fellow, and one who was able to exceed even King in virulence; confident, blustering, of such a bitterness of speech, that he would outstrip the Sisennæ[77] and Barri, if ever so well equipped.

I return to King. After nothing could be settled betwixt them, (for people amongst whom adverse war breaks out, are proportionably vexatious on the same account as they are brave. Thus between Hector, the son of Priam, and the high-spirited Achilles, the rage was of so capital a nature, that only the final destruction [of one of them] could determine it; on no other account, than that valour in each of them was consummate. If discord sets two cowards to work; or if an engagement happens between two that are not of a match, as that of Diomed and the Lycian Glaucus; the worse man will walk off, [buying his peace] by voluntarily sending presents,) when Brutus held as prætor[78] the fertile Asia, this pair, Rupilius and Persius, encountered; in such a manner, that [the

[76] *Ibrida Persius.* Persius was a Greek by his father, and an Italian by his mother. The Romans gave the name of Ibrida to those whose parents were of different nations, or different conditions. Torr.

[77] Cornelius Sisenna being reproached by the senate with the bad conduct of his wife, replied, "I married her by the advice of Augustus." Insinuating, Augustus had obliged him to marry her, that he might have a more easy commerce with her. Titus Veturius Barrus, having ruined himself by his extravagance, was put to death for violating a vestal virgin. Ed. Dubl.

[78] Marcus Brutus and Cassius were prætors of Rome when Cæsar was put to death. In 711 Brutus went to take possession of his Macedonian government, and *prætor* may be understood *proprætor;* a manner of speaking of which there are many examples. San.

gladiators] Bacchius and Bithus[79] were not better matched. Impetuous they hurry to the cause, each of them a fine sight.

Persius opens his case; and is laughed at by all the assembly; he extols Brutus, and extols the guard; he styles Brutus the sun of Asia, and his attendants he styles salutary stars, all except King; that he, [he says,] came like that dog, the constellation hateful to husbandmen: he poured along like a wintry flood, where the axe seldom comes.

Then, upon his running on in so smart and fluent a manner, the Prænestine [king] directs some witticisms squeezed from the vineyard,[80] himself a hardy vine-dresser, never defeated, to whom the passenger had often been obliged to yield, bawling cuckoo with roaring voice.

But the Grecian Persius, as soon as he had been well sprinkled with Italian vinegar, bellows out: O Brutus, by the great gods I conjure you, who are accustomed to take off kings,[81] why do you not despatch this King? Believe me, this is a piece of work which of right belongs to you.

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## SATIRE VIII.

*Priapus complains that the Esquilian mount is infested with the incantations of sorceresses.*

FORMERLY I was the trunk of a wild fig-tree, an useless log:[82] when the artificer, in doubt whether he should make a stool or a Priapus of me, determined that I should be a god. Henceforward I became a god, the greatest terror of thieves

[79] The Scholiast tells us, that Bithus and Bacchius were two gladiators, who certainly put to death whoever fought with them. They afterwards engaged together, and both expired on the stage. ED. DUBL.

[80] Horace means a particular kind of vine, *arbustiva*, that grew round trees, in which the people who gathered the grapes stood exposed to the raillery of the travellers. In such an attitude our *durus Vindemiator* had often appeared. All sort of injurious language was allowed during the vintage; a custom that still continues in Naples. DAC.

[81] Lucius Junius Brutus expelled Tarquinius Superbus. Marcus Brutus freed his country from the imperial power of Julius Cæsar. From the introduction of this we may conjecture that Horace, at the time of writing this satire, had not yet espoused the side of Augustus. M'CAUL.

[82] The wood of a fig-tree was very little used, on account of its brittleness. SCHOL.

and birds: for my right hand restrains thieves, and a bloody-looking pole stretched out from my frightful middle: but a reed fixed upon the crown of my head terrifies the mischievous birds, and hinders them from settling in these new gardens,[83] Before this the fellow-slave bore dead corpses thrown out of their narrow cells to this place, in order to be deposited in paltry coffins. This place stood a common sepulchre for the miserable mob, for the buffoon Pantolabus, and Nomentanus the rake. Here a column assigned a thousand feet[84] [of ground] in front, and three hundred towards the fields: that the burial-place should not descend to the heirs of the estate. Now one may live in the Esquiliæ,[85] [since it is made] a healthy place; and walk upon an open terrace, where lately the melancholy passengers beheld the ground frightful with white bones; though both the thieves and wild beasts accustomed to infest this place, do not occasion me so much care and trouble, as do [these hags], that turn people's minds by their incantations and drugs. These I cannot by any means destroy nor hinder, but that they will gather bones and noxious herbs, as soon as the fleeting moon[86] has shown her beauteous face.

I myself saw Canidia, with her sable garment tucked up, walk with bare feet and dishevelled hair, yelling together with the elder Sagana. Paleness had rendered both of them horrible to behold. They began to claw up the earth with their nails, and to tear a black ewe-lamb to pieces with their teeth.

[83] Octavius, willing to correct the infection of this hill, which was a common burying-place for all the poor of Rome, got the consent of the senate and people to give part of it to Mæcenas, who built a magnificent house there, with very extensive gardens. Hence the poet calls them *novis hortis*. SAN.

[84] *Mille pedes in fronte*. Such was the title of the grave-yard, preserved on a pillar of stone, *cippus*, to show its extent, and to declare it was never to return to the heirs of the estate. We have numberless inscriptions of this kind, ITA NE UNQUAM DE NOMINE FAMILIÆ NOSTRÆ EXEAT HOC MONUMENTUM. HOC MONUMENTUM HEREDES NON SEQUITUR. IN FRONTE LAT. PED. XX. ET DIG. II. IN AGR. LONG. PED. XX. *In fronte* signifies *to the road: in agro, to the fields*. *Dabat* is for *indicabat, testabatur*. TORR.

[85] The air was afterwards so healthy, that Augustus was carried thither when he was ill. TORR.

[86] The moon presided over all enchantments, and was believed to be most favourable when in the full, *decorum os*, because she then infused a stronger spirit into the magical herbs. TORR.

The blood was poured into a ditch, that thence they might charm out the shades[87] of the dead, ghosts that were to give them answers. There was a woollen effigy[88] too, another of wax: the woollen one larger, which was to inflict punishment on the little one.[89] The waxen stood in a suppliant posture, as ready to perish in a servile manner. One of the hags invokes Hecate, and the other fell Tisiphone. Then might you see serpents and infernal bitches[90] wander about; and the moon with blushes hiding behind the lofty monuments, that she might not be a witness to these doings. But if I lie, even a tittle, may my head be contaminated with the white filth of ravens; and may Julius, and the effeminate Miss Pediatius,[91] and the knave Voranus, come to water upon me, and befoul me. Why should I mention every particular? viz. in what manner, speaking alternately with Sagana, the ghosts uttered dismal and piercing shrieks; and how by stealth they laid in the earth a wolf's beard, with the teeth of a spotted snake; and how great a blaze flamed forth from the waxen image? And how I was shocked at the voices and actions of these two furies, a spectator however by no means incapable of revenge? For from my cleft body of fig-tree[92] wood I uttered a loud noise with as great an explosion as a burst bladder. But they ran into the city: and with exceeding laughter and diversion might you have seen Canidia's artificial teeth, and

[87] Black victims alone were sacrificed to the infernal gods, nor was any thing supposed more delicious to the souls of the departed than blood. They could not foretell any future events, or answer any questions, until they had drank of it. Ulysses was obliged to draw his sword, to frighten them away from the blood he had poured into the trench for Tiresias. DAC.

[88] The image of wool represented the person they were willing should survive the other represented by that of wax. 'Tis for this reason that the images were made of different materials, that their fates might be different. WATSON.

[89] This little figure probably represented Varius, who had forsaken Canidia, as we find in the fifth epode. SAN.

[90] The serpents were forerunners of Tisiphone, and the bitches foretold that her infernal majesty was coming. TORR.

[91] *Julius et fragilis Pediatia.* We know not who Julius was. Pediatius was an infamous Roman knight, whom Horace, for his effeminacy, calls Pediatia. Thus Aristophanes calls Cleonymus *Cleonyma;* Sostratus, *Sostrata.* CRUQ.

[92] *Ficus,* i. e. I, an image made of the *truncus ficulnus.* The heat made the wood crack with a noise, which put the witches to flight. M'CAUL.

Sagana's towering tête of false hair falling off, and the herbs, and the enchanted bracelets from her arms.

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## SATIRE IX.

*He describes his sufferings from the loquacity of an impertinent fellow.*

I WAS accidentally going along the Via Sacra, meditating on some trifle or other, as is my custom, and totally intent upon it. A certain person, known to me by name only, runs up; and, having seized my hand, "How do you do, my dearest fellow?" "Tolerably well," say I, "as times go; and I wish you every thing you can desire." When he still followed me; "Would you any thing?"[93] said I to him. But, "You know me," says he: "I am a man of learning." "Upon that account," said I, "you will have more of my esteem." Wanting sadly to get away from him, sometimes I walked on apace, now and then I stopped, and whispered something to my boy. When the sweat ran down to the bottom of my ancles; O, said I to myself, Bolanus,[94] how happy were you in a head-piece! Meanwhile he kept prating on any thing that came uppermost, praised the streets, the city; and, when I made him no answer; "You want terribly," said he, "to get away; I perceived it long ago; but you effect nothing. I shall still

[93] *Numquid vis.* Donatus tells us in a remark upon a passage in Terence, that it was a polite customary manner of speaking amongst the Romans, that they might not seem to take their leave too abruptly, to say at parting, "numquid vis?" as in modern phrase, "have you any commands?" "Abituri, ne id durè facerent, 'numquid vis' dicebant his, quibuscum constitissent." ED. DUBL.

[94] Bolanus was a very irritable person. SCHOL. Horace then pronounces him *cerebri felicem;* for were he but in this fellow's company, he would break out into a storm of passion that would drive him away. It appears more humorous to suppose him a heavy, stupid person, so apathetic, that not even this fellow would annoy him. F. Similarly Demea in Terent. Adelph. v. 5, exclaims,

——— "fortunatus, qui istoc animo sies;
Ego sentio." M'CAUL.

Bolanus was a surname of the Vettii derived from Bola, a town of the Æqui.—*Celebri felicem.* Thus μακαρίζω σε τῆς παῤῥησίας, and Virg. Geor. i. 277, "felices operum dies." WHEELER.

stick close to you; I shall follow you hence: where are you at present bound for?" "There is no need for your being carried so much about: I want to see a person, who is unknown to you: he lives a great way off across the Tiber, just by Cæsar's gardens." "I have nothing to do, and I am not lazy; I will attend you thither." I hang down my ears like an ass of surly disposition, when a heavier load than ordinary is put upon his back. He begins again: "If I am tolerably acquainted with myself, you will not esteem Viscus or Varius as a friend, more than me; for who can write more verses, or in a shorter time than I? Who can move his limbs with softer grace [in the dance]? And then I sing, so that even Hermogenes may envy."

Here there was an opportunity of interrupting him. "Have you a mother, [or any] relations that are interested in your welfare?" "Not one have I; I have buried them all." "Happy they! now I remain. Despatch me: for the fatal moment is at hand, which an old Sabine sorceress, having shaken her divining urn,[95] foretold when I was a boy; 'This child, neither shall cruel poison, nor the hostile sword, nor pleurisy, nor cough, nor the crippling gout destroy: a babbler shall one day demolish him; if he be wise, let him avoid talkative people, as soon as he comes to man's estate.'"

One-fourth[96] of the day being now past, we came to Vesta's temple; and, as good luck would have it, he was obliged to appear to his recognisance; which unless he did, he must have lost his cause. "If you love me," said he, "step in here a little." "May I die! if I be either able to stand it out,[97] or have any knowledge of the civil laws: and besides,

[95] The divination was performed in this manner. A number of letters and entire words were thrown into an urn and shaken together. When they were well mixed, they were poured out, and if any thing intelligible appeared in them, from thence the witch formed her divination and answers. FRAN.

[96] The first hour of the day amongst the Romans answered to our sixth. Martial says the courts were open at nine o'clock, "exercet raucos tertia causidicos;" it was therefore more than an hour after their opening, that Horace passed by the temple of Vesta.

[97] *Aut valeo stare.* Horace uses the law terms, "respondere, adesse, stare, rem relinquere." The first signifies to appear before a judge upon a summons; the second was properly to attend on the person who appeared, and to support his cause; the third marks the posture in which

I am in a hurry, you know whither." "I am in doubt what I shall do," said he; "whether desert you or my cause." "Me, I beg of you." "I will not do it," said he; and began to take the lead of me. I (as it is difficult to contend with one's master) follow him. "How stands it with Mæcenas and you?" Thus he begins his prate again. "He is one of few intimates,[98] and of a very wise way of thinking. No man ever made use of opportunity with more cleverness. You should have a powerful assistant,[99] who could play an under-part, if you were disposed to recommend this man; may I perish, if you should not supplant all the rest!" "We do not live there in the manner you imagine; there is not a house that is freer or more remote from evils of this nature. It is never of any disservice to me, that any particular person is wealthier or a better scholar than I am: every individual has his proper place." "You tell me a marvellous thing, scarcely credible." "But it is even so." "You the more inflame my desires to be near his person." "You need only be inclined to it: such is your merit, you will accomplish it: and he is capable of being won;[100] and on that account the first access

he stood, and *relinquere causam* to suffer himself to be non-suited for not appearing. ED. DUBL.

[98] *Paucorum hominum.* "A man of discernment, who does not converse with the multitude," as in Terence, "hic homo est perpaucorum hominum." Scipio having engaged three or four friends to sup with him, and intending to make some others, who came to see him, stay with him, Pontius whispered him; "Consider, Scipio, what you are doing; this is a delicate fish, *paucorum hominum*, and does not love a great deal of company." ED. DUBL.

[99] *Adjutor* was a person who assisted a player either with his voice or action, but in what manner is to us inconceivable, as we have nothing like it in our stage. *Ferre secundas* may be somewhat better explained by a passage in Cicero; "He will not exert his utmost eloquence, but consult your honour and reputation, by lowering his own abilities and raising yours. Thus we see among the Grecian actors, that he who plays the second or third part, conceals his own power, that the principal player may appear to the best advantage." ED. DUBL.

Our impertinent therefore promises Horace, that far from any design of supplanting him in the favour of Mæcenas, he will be contented to play the second part, and use his utmost abilities to raise our poet's character, as a principal actor. The reader may turn to the note on the twelfth line in the eighteenth epistle. FRAN.

[100] The poet says Mæcenas was naturally easy to be gained, but that a sense of his own weakness obliged him to guard himself against the first addresses of a stranger. "Eò," for "ideo difficiles aditus primos habet,

to him he makes difficult." "I will not be wanting to myself: I will corrupt his servants with presents; if I am excluded to-day, I will not desist; I will seek opportunities; I will meet him in the public streets; I will wait upon him home. Life allows nothing to mortals without great labour." While he was running on at this rate, lo! Fuscus Aristius comes up, a dear friend of mine, and one who knew the fellow well. We make a stop. "Whence come you? whither are you going?" he asks and answers. I began to twitch him [by the elbow], and to take hold of his arms [that were affectedly] passive, nodding and distorting my eyes, that he might rescue me. Cruelly arch he laughs, and pretends not to take the hint: anger galled my liver. "Certainly," [said I, "Fuscus,] you said that you wanted to communicate something to me in private." "I remember it very well; but will tell it you at a better opportunity: to-day is the thirtieth sabbath.[1] Would you affront the circumcised Jews?" I reply, "I have no scruple [on that account]." "But I have: I am something weaker, one of the multitude. You must forgive me: I will speak with you on another occasion." And has this sun arisen so disastrous upon me! The wicked rogue runs away, and leaves me under the knife. But by luck his adversary met him: and, "Whither are you going, you infamous fellow?" roars he with a loud voice: and, "Do you witness the arrest?"[2]

quia est qui vinci possit:" as in Terence, "eò tibi videtur fœdus, quia vestem illam non habet." BENT.

[1] The Jews began their year the first of September, and celebrated their paschal festival the fifteenth of April, in the thirtieth week, from whence Horace calls it "tricesima sabbata." It continued eight days, of which the two first and two last were observed with so much solemnity, that it was not permitted even to talk of business. Augustus, in imitation of Julius Cæsar, allowed the Jews uncommon privileges.

[2] When a man had given bail in a court of justice, if he neglected the time of appearance, he might be taken by force before the prætor. But the person who would arrest him was obliged, before he used him with violence, to have a witness of his capture, *antestari*. This however could not be done without the consent of the witnesses; he therefore willingly offered the captor his ear to touch, who was liable, if these forms were not observed, to an action, *injuriarum actionem*. But thieves and people of infamous characters were not treated with so much formality. When a fellow in Plautus cries out, "Will you not call a witness before you seize me, nonne antestaris?" he is answered, "What, shall I touch an honest man's ear for such a scoundrel as you are?" Pliny tells us, the lowest part of the ear is the seat of memory, from whence came this form of their laws. FRAN.

I assent.[3] He hurries him into court: there is great clamour on both sides, a mob from all parts. Thus Apollo preserved me.[4]

## SATIRE X.[5]

*He supports the judgment which he had before given of Lucilius, and interesperses some excellent precepts for the writing of Satire.*

To be sure I did say, that the verses of Lucilius did not run smoothly. Who is so foolish an admirer of Lucilius, that he would not own this? But the same writer is applauded in the same Satire,[6] on account of his having lashed the town with great humour. Nevertheless granting him this, I will not therefore give up the other [considerations]; for at that rate I might even admire the farces of Laberius,[7] as fine poems. Hence, it is by no means sufficient to make an auditor grin with laughter: and yet there is some degree of merit even in this. There is need of conciseness that the sentence may run, and not embarrass itself with verbiage, that overloads the sated ear; and sometimes a grave, frequently a jocose style is

[3] *Oppono auriculam.* Such was the law-term, which our poet very willingly pronounced, to signify the consent of the witness.

[4] Horace ascribes his rescue from the intruder to Apollo, as the patron of poets. Perhaps he alludes to the statue of that god, which was in the forum, where the courts were held, and as it was a law proceeding that saved him from the *garrulus*, he ascribes his preservation to the god, that from his vicinity to the courts was called *juris peritus*. Juven. i. 113. Orellius considers reference to be made to Apollo, ἀλεξικάκος, or ἀποτροπαῖος, and that the passage is founded on Il. Υ. 443: τὸν δ' ἐξήρπαξεν Ἀπόλλων. M'Caul.

[5] Lucilius had his numerous admirers in Rome, who were greatly disobliged by the freedom with which our poet had treated him in his fourth Satire. Horace was determined to support his own judgment, and instead of making an apology, confirms what he had said, with his utmost force and address. Ed. Dublin. Respecting the eight spurious verses usually prefixed to this Satire, see Orelli's Excursus.

[6] Cf. Sat. 4.

[7] *Mimi* were farces written purely for diversion and laughing. Decimus Laberius was made a Roman knight by Julius Cæsar. He had long maintained the first character in this kind of writing, but Publius Syrus at last became his rival, and carried off all the applause of the theatre. Fran.

necessary, supporting the character one while of the orator, and [at another] of the poet, now and then that of a graceful rallier, that curbs the force of his pleasantry and weakens it on purpose. For ridicule often decides matters of importance more effectually, and in a better manner, than severity. Those poets by whom the ancient comedy was written, stood upon this [foundation], and in this are they worthy of imitation: whom neither the smooth-faced Hermogenes ever read, nor that baboon who is skilled in nothing but singing [the wanton compositions of] Calvus and Catullus.

But [Lucilius, say they,] did a great thing, when he intermixed Greek words with Latin. O late-learned dunces! What? do you think that arduous and admirable, which was done by Pitholeo the Rhodian? But [still they cry] the style elegantly composed of both tongues is the more pleasant, as if Falernian wine is mixed with Chian. When you make verses, I ask you this question; were you to undertake the difficult cause of the accused Petillius, would you, (for instance,) forgetful of your country and your father, while Pedius,[8] Poplicola, and Corvinus[9] sweat through their causes in Latin, choose to intermix words borrowed from abroad, like the double-tongued Canusinian.[10] And as for myself, who was born on this side the water, when I was about making Greek verses; Romulus appearing to me after midnight, when dreams are true, forbade me in words to this effect; "You could not be guilty of more madness by carrying timber into a wood, than by desiring to throng in among the great crowds of Grecian writers."

While bombastical Alpinus[11] murders Memnon, and while

[8] Pedius. This is, without doubt, the son of that Q. Pedius whom Julius Cæsar made heir to the fourth part of his estate, and who was chosen consul with Octavius, in room of Hirtius and Pansa. WATSON.

[9] Corvinus. V. Messala Corvinus, no less distinguished by his eloquence than by his noble birth. He was descended from the famed Valerius Poplicola. WATSON.

[10] Canusium was built by Diomede. Its inhabitants, originally Greeks, had preserved many words of their first language, which being mixed with Latin, made a ridiculous, disagreeable jargon. Virgil, for the same reason, calls the Tyrians, "Tyriosque bilingues." FRAN.

[11] Alpinus. The most probable conjectures induce us to believe, that Horace means Furius Bibaculus, a poet of some reputation, and not without merit. He describes him in another Satire "pingui tentus omaso," and here he calls him "turgidus," not only from the fatness of his per-

he deforms the muddy source of the Rhine, I amuse myself with these satires; which can neither be recited in the temple[12] [of Apollo], as contesting for the prize when Tarpa presides as judge, nor can have a run over and over again represented in the theatres. You, O Fundanius,[13] of all men breathing, are the most capable of prattling tales in a comic vein, how an artful courtesan and a Davus impose upon an old Chremes: Pollio sings the actions of kings in iambic[14] measure; the sublime Varius composes the manly epic, in a manner that no one can equal: to Virgil the Muses, delighting in rural scenes, have granted the delicate and the elegant. It was this kind [of satiric writing], the Aticinian Varro and some others having attempted it without success, in which I may have some slight merit, inferior to the inventor: nor would I presume to pull off the [laurel] crown, placed upon his brow with great applause.

But I said that he flowed muddily, frequently indeed bearing along more things which ought to be taken away than left. Be it so; do you, who are a scholar, find no fault with any thing in mighty Homer, I pray? Does the facetious Lucilius make no alterations in the tragedies of Accius? Does not he ridicule many of Ennius' verses, which are too light for the gravity [of the subject]? When he speaks of himself by no means as superior to what he blames. What should hinder me likewise, while I am reading the works of Lucilius, from inquiring whether it be his [genius], or the difficult

son, but the flatulency of his style. The surname of Alpinus marks his being born among the Gauls, who lived on the Alps; or, as Dr. Bentley pleasantly understands it, from a famous line, which our poet laughs at in another place: "Jupiter hibernas canâ nive conspuit Alpes." "Jugulat dum Memnona" is a tone and style of bombast in the true spirit of ridicule.

[12] *Quæ nec in Æde sonent.* The commentator tells that Augustus appointed five judges, of whom Metius Tarpa was one, to distribute poetical prizes, and determine what plays should be presented on the stage. Vossius believes they were established in imitation of the Sicilians and Athenians. Mr. Dacier thinks they were continued under the reign of Domitian. ED. DUBL.

[13] Fundanius. He is known only by this elogium of Horace. This passage refers to the Andria of Terence, where Chremes is deceived by the artifices of Davus. WATSON.

[14] *Pede ter percusso.* The tragic Iambics had but three measures, each measure having two feet, from whence they were sometimes called *senarii*, and sometimes *trimetra*.

nature of his subject, that will not suffer his verses to be more finished, and to run more smoothly than if some one, thinking it sufficient to conclude a something of six feet, be fond of writing two hundred verses before he eats, and as many after supper? Such was the genius of the Tuscan Cassius, more impetuous than a rapid river; who, as it is reported, was burned [at the funeral pile] with his own books[15] and papers. Let it be allowed, I say, that Lucilius was a humorous and polite writer; that he was also more correct than [Ennius], the author[16] of a kind of poetry [not yet] well cultivated, nor attempted by the Greeks, and [more correct likewise] than the tribe of our old poets: but yet he, if he had been brought down by the fates to this age of ours, would have retrenched a great deal from his writings: he would have pruned off every thing that transgressed the limits of perfection; and, in the composition of verses, would often have scratched his head, and bit his nails to the quick.

You that intend to write what is worthy to be read more than once, blot frequently: and take no pains to make the multitude admire you, content with a few [judicious] readers. What, would you be such a fool, as to be ambitious that your verses should be taught in petty schools? That is not my case: It is enough for me, that the knight [Mæcenas] applauds: as the courageous actress Arbuscula expressed herself, in contempt of the rest of the audience, when she was hissed [by the populace]. What, shall that grubworm Pantilius[17] have any effect upon me? Or can it vex me, that Demetrius carps at me behind my back? or because the trifler Fannius, that hanger-on to Hermogenes Tigellius, attempts to hurt me? May Plotius and Varius, Mæcenas and Virgil, Valgius and Octavius[18] approve these Satires, and the excellent

[15] The funeral piles on which dead bodies were burned were made of wood. Cassius had written so much, that Horace sportively gives it as a rumour, that his books formed his funeral pile. M'CAUL.

[16] There is great variation in the interpretations of this passage. They may be found collected in M'Caul's notes.

[17] Pantilius. A buffoon, and a great enemy of Horace, whom he calls Cimex, an insect, out of contempt. Fannius is the same of whom he speaks in Satire iv. WATSON.

[18] Octavius. An excellent poet and historian. The Visci were two brothers, and both senators. Bibulus was the son of him that had been consul in 695, and Servius the son of Servius Sulpicius, who corresponded

Fuscus likewise; and I could wish that both the Visci would join in their commendations: ambition apart, I may mention you, O Pollio: you also, Messala, together with your brother; and at the same time, you, Bibulus and Servius; and along with these you, candid Furnius; many others whom, though men of learning and my friends, I purposely omit—to whom I could wish these Satires, such as they are, may give satisfaction; and I should be chagrined, if they pleased in a degree below my expectation. You, Demetrius, and you, Tigellius, I bid lament among the forms of your female pupils.

Go, boy, and instantly annex this Satire to the end of my book.

with Cicero. Furnius was consul in the year 737, and equally master of the pen and the sword.

THE SECOND BOOK

OF THE

# SATIRES OF HORACE.

## SATIRE I.

*He supposes himself to consult with Trebatius, whether he should desist from writing satires, or not.*

THERE are some persons, to whom I seem too severe in [the writing of] satire, and to carry it beyond proper bounds:[1] another set are of opinion, that all I have written is nerveless, and that a thousand verses like mine may be spun out in a day. Trebatius,[2] give me your advice, what I shall do. Be quiet. I should not make, you say, verses at all. I do say so. May I be hanged, if that would not be best: but I cannot sleep. Let those, who want sound sleep, anointed swim thrice across the Tiber; and have their clay well moistened with wine over-night. Or, if such a great love of scribbling hurries you on, venture to celebrate the achievements of the invincible Cæsar, certain of bearing off ample rewards for your pains.

Desirous I am, my good father, [to do this,] but my strength fails me: nor can any one describe the troops bristled with spears, nor the Gauls[3] dying on their shivered darts, nor the

[1] *Ultra legem.* The laws of the twelve tables punished these poetical slanderers with death; but they were grown obsolete, and had lost great part of their vigour, when they were renewed by Augustus. DAC.

[2] Trebatius. This is C. Trebatius Testa, the most celebrated lawyer of that age, as is evident from the letters which Cicero wrote to him. He was greatly in favour both with Julius Cæsar and Augustus. As he accompanied the first in his wars in Gaul, thirty years before this Satire was written, he must, by this time, have been of an advanced age. Horace applies to him as one of great authority, on account of his age and skill in the law. He was further a good judge of raillery, and had often used it with delicacy and success. WATSON.

[3] The Gauls of Aquitain having rebelled in 726, Octavius sent Messala,

wounded Parthian falling from his horse. Nevertheless you may describe him just and brave, as the wise Lucilius did Scipio. I will not be wanting to myself, when an opportunity presents itself: no verses of Horace's, unless well-timed, will gain the attention of Cæsar; whom, [like a generous steed,] if you stroke awkwardly, he will kick back upon you, being at all quarters on his guard. How much better would this be, than to wound with severe satire Pantolabus the buffoon, and the rake Nomentanus! when every body is afraid for himself, [lest he should be the next,] and hates you, though he is not meddled with. What shall I do? Milonius falls a dancing the moment he becomes light-headed and warm, and the candles appear multiplied. Castor delights in horsemanship; and he, who sprang from the same egg, in boxing. As many thousands of people [as there are in the world], so many different inclinations are there. It delights me to combine words in metre, after the manner of Lucilius, a better man than both of us.[4] He long ago communicated his secrets to his books, as to faithful friends: never having recourse elsewhere, whether things went well or ill with him: whence it happens, that the whole life of this old [poet] is as open to the view, as if it had been painted on a votive tablet. His example I follow, though in doubt whether I am a Lucanian or an Apulian; for the Venusinian farmers plough upon the boundaries of both countries, who (as the ancient tradition has it) were sent, on the expulsion of the Samnites, for this purpose, that the enemy might not make incursions on the Romans, through a vacant [unguarded frontier]: or lest the Apulian nation, or the fierce Lucanian, should make an invasion. But this pen of mine shall not wilfully attack any man breathing, and shall defend me like a sword that is sheathed in the scabbard: which why should I attempt to draw, [while I am] safe from hostile villains? O Jupiter, father and sovereign, may my weapon laid aside wear away with rust, and may no one injure me, who am desirous of peace? [But that

with the title of governor of the province, to reduce them to his obedience. He conquered them in the year following, and had the honour of a triumph the 25th of September. SAN.

[4] When the Romans mentioned a man of great reputation, and whose example had a sort of authority, their usual expression in conversation was, *Who is far better, and more valuable than you or me.* RUTGERS.

man who shall provoke me (I give notice, that it is better not to touch me) shall weep [his folly], and as a notorious character shall be sung through all the streets of Rome.

Cervius,[5] when he is offended, threatens one with the laws and the [judiciary] urn; Canidia, Albutius' poison to those with whom she is at enmity; Turius [threatens] great damages, if you contest any thing while he is judge. How every animal[6] terrifies those whom he suspects, with that in which he is most powerful, and how strong natural instinct commands this, thus infer with me.—The wolf attacks with his teeth, the bull with his horns. From what principle is this, if not a suggestion from within? Intrust that debauchee Scæva with the custody of his ancient mother; his pious hand will commit no outrage. A wonder indeed! just as the wolf does not attack any one with his hoof, nor the bull with his teeth; but the deadly hemlock in the poisoned honey will take off the old dame.

That I may not be tedious, whether a placid old age awaits me, or whether death now hovers about me with his sable wings; rich or poor, at Rome or (if fortune should so order it) an exile abroad; whatever be the complexion of my life, I will write. O my child, I fear you cannot be long-lived; and that some creature of the great ones will strike you with the cold of death.[7] What? when Lucilius had the courage to be the first in composing verses after this manner, and to pull

[5] A criminal was acquitted or condemned by the number of votes, which the judges threw into a judiciary urn. Virgil tells us this custom was observed amongst the dead, "quæsitor Minos urnam movet." TORR.

[6] Horace's weapon is satire. This he will use against his enemies, just as every one, *quo valet, suspectos terret*, and according to the dictates of nature, which prompt her creatures to make use of the arms which she has given them, i. e. *ne longum faciam*, he will write. ED. DUBL.

*Mirum*, &c. Ironically said, for it is not *mirum ut neque calce lupus quenquam neque dente petat bos*, for *dente lupus, cornu taurus petit.* Horace means that Scæva's not polluting his right hand with the blood of his mother is no more wonderful than that a wolf does not attack a person *calce*, or an ox, *dente*. Bentley's conjecture *mirum si* is specious. Similarly we have Terent. Andr. iv. 4, 16; Mirum *vero, impudentur mulier si facit meretrix*. M'CAUL.

[7] i. e. "lest some one of your powerful friends conceive a coldness towards you, and deprive you of his friendship." So Persius i. 107, "*Sed quid opus teneras mordaci radere vero* Auriculas? Vide sis ne majorum tibi forte Limina et rigescunt." ORELLI.

off that mask,[8] by means of which each man strutted in public view with a fair outside, though foul within; was Lælius, and he who derived a well-deserved title from the destruction of Carthage, offended at his wit, or were they hurt at Metellus being lashed, or Lupus covered over with his lampoons? But he took to task the heads of the people, and the people themselves, class by class;[9] in short, he spared none but virtue and her friends. Yet, when the valorous Scipio, and the mild philosophical Lælius, had withdrawn themselves from the crowd and the public scene, they used to divert themselves with him, and joke in a free manner, while a few vegetables were boiled [for supper]. Of whatever rank I am, though below the estate and wit of Lucilius, yet envy must be obliged to own that I have lived well with great men; and, wanting to fasten her tooth upon some weak part, will strike it against the solid:[10] unless you, learned Trebatius, disapprove of any thing [I have said]. For my part, I cannot make any objection to this. But however, that forewarned you may be upon your guard, lest an ignorance of our sacred laws should bring you into trouble, [be sure of this:] if any person[11] shall make scandalous verses against a particular man, an action lies, and a sentence. Granted, if they are scandalous: but if a man composes good ones, and is praised by such a judge as Cæsar? If a man barks only at him who deserves his invectives, while he himself is unblameable?

[8] *Detrahere pellem.* A figurative expression taken from the stage. The ancient masks were of skins. DAC.

[9] The great men, and people of whatever tribe. It is plain from what remains to us of Lucilius, that he did not spare the great. Besides Metellus and Lupus already mentioned, he attacked also Mutius Scævola, Titus Albutius, Torquatus, Marcus Carbo, Lucius Tubulus, Publius Gallonius, Caius Cassius, Lucius Cotta, Clodius Asellus, Quintus Opimius, Nomentanus, Caius Cecilius Index, Trebellius, Publius Pavus Tuditanus. And not satisfied with this, he run through all the thirty-five tribes, one after another. WATSON.

[10] In allusion to the fable of the serpent and the file.

[11] *Si mala condiderit.* Trebatius with much solemnity cites the laws of the twelve tables as his last argument. A lawyer could produce nothing more strong, and Horace being unable to defend himself by a direct answer, finds a way of getting out of the difficulty by playing on the words *malum carmen*, and giving them a different sense from what they had in the text of the law. ED. DUBL.

The process will be cancelled[12] with laughter: and you, being dismissed, may depart in peace.

## SATIRE II.

*On Frugality.*

WHAT and how great is the virtue to live on a little, (this is no doctrine of mine, but what Ofellus the peasant, a philosopher without rules[13] and of a home-spun[14] wit, taught me,) learn, my good friends, not among dishes and splendid tables; when the eye is dazzled with the vain glare, and the mind, intent upon false appearances, refuses [to admit] better things; but here, before dinner, discuss this point with me. Why so? I will inform you, if I can. Every corrupted judge examines badly the truth. After hunting the hare, or being wearied by an unruly horse, or (if the Roman exercise fatigues you, accustomed to act the Greek) whether the swift ball, while eagerness softens and prevents your perceiving the severity of the game, or quoits (smite the yielding air with the quoit) when exercise has worked off squeamishness, dry and hungry, [then let me see you] despise mean viands; and don't drink any thing but Hymettian honey qualified[15] with Falernian

[12] *Tabulæ* are the process and information laid before the judge, which, says the poet, shall be torn in pieces. Dacier observes, that this line is an imitation of Aristophanes, where a father dissuades his son from an excess of wine, by representing to him a thousand disorders which it occasions; quarrelling, breaking houses open. No, says the son, this never happens when we converse with men of honour; for either they will satisfy the people whom they have offended, or turn the affair into ridicule, and by some happy jest make the judges, and even the prosecutors, laugh. The process is dismissed, and you escape without being punished. ED. DUBL.

[13] *Abnormis.* "A philosopher without rules." Ofellus was an Epicurean without knowing it, but his morality was in a medium between the very rigid and very dissolute followers of that sect. DAC.

[14] Minerva presides over spinning, hence this proverbial expression for "of a thick thread," i. e. of a coarse texture. Thus Cic. Ep. Fam. ix. 12, *Crasso filo.* M'CAUL.

[15] *Diluta.* This mixture was called *mulsum*, mead. Ofella says: Don't drink any thing but mead made of the best honey and the best

wine. Your butler is abroad, and the tempestuous sea preserves the fish by its wintry storms: bread and salt will sufficiently appease an importunate stomach. Whence do you think this happens? and how is it obtained? The consummate pleasure is not in the costly flavour, but in yourself. Do you seek for sauce by sweating. Neither oysters, nor scar, nor the far-fetched lagois,[16] can give any pleasure to one bloated and pale through intemperance. Nevertheless, if a peacock[17] were served up, I should hardly be able to prevent your gratifying the palate with that, rather than a pullet, since you are prejudiced by the vanities of things; because the scarce bird is bought with gold, and displays a fine sight with its painted tail: as if that were any thing to the purpose. What, do you eat that plumage, which you extol? or has the bird the same beauty when dressed? Since however there is no difference in the meat, in one preferably to the other; it is manifest that you are imposed upon by the disparity of their appearances. Be it so.

By what gift are you able to distinguish, whether this lupus, that now opens its jaws before us, was taken in the Tiber, or in the sea? whether it was tossed between the bridges, or at the mouth of the Tuscan river? Fool, you praise a mullet, that weighs three pounds; which you are obliged to cut into small pieces. Outward appearances lead you, I see. To what intent then do you contemn large lupuses? Because truly these are by nature bulky, and those very light. A hun-

wine. *Diluere* is applied to those things which are melted by the addition of fluid. Thus Virg. Geor. i. 344,

Cui tu lacte favos et miti dilue Baccho.

And Sat. ii. 3, 241,

——— aceto
Diluit insignem baccam. M'CAUL.

[16] *Lagois.* We do not find this word in any other author. It was probably a foreign bird, whose flesh tasted and looked like that of a hare; a favourite dish amongst the Romans. *Ostrea* is of two syllables, as in Virgil, "Bis patriæ cecidere manus: quin protenus omnia."

[17] Quintus Hortensius was the first who gave the Romans a taste for peacocks, and it soon became so fashionable a dish, that all the people of fortune had it at their tables. Cicero very pleasantly says, he had the boldness to invite Hirtius to sup with him, even without a peacock. "Sed vide audaciam, etiam Hirtio cœnam dedi sine pavone." M. Aufidius Latro made a prodigious fortune by fattening them for sale. ED. DUBL.

gry stomach seldom loathes common victuals. O that I could see a swingeing mullet extended on a swingeing dish! cries that gullet, which is fit for the voracious harpies themselves. But O [say I] ye southern blasts, be present to taint the delicacies of these [gluttons]: though the boar and turbot newly taken are rank, when surfeiting abundance provokes the sick stomach; and when the sated guttler prefers turnips and sharp elecampane. However, all [appearance of] poverty is not quite banished from the banquets of our nobles; for there is, even at this day, a place for paltry eggs and black olives.[18] And it was not long ago, since the table of Gallonius the auctioneer was rendered infamous, by having a sturgeon [served up whole upon it]. What? was the sea at that time less nutritive of turbots?[19] The turbot was secure and the stork unmolested in her nest; till the prætorian [Sempronius], the inventor,[20] first taught you [to eat them]. Therefore, if any one were to give it out that roasted cormorants are delicious, the Roman youth, teachable in depravity, would acquiesce in it.

In the judgment of Ofellus, a sordid way of living will differ widely from frugal simplicity. For it is to no purpose for you to shun that vice [of luxury]; if you perversely fly to the contrary extreme. Avidienus, to whom the nickname of Dog is applied with propriety, eats olives of five years old, and wild cornels, and cannot bear to rack off his wine unless it be turned sour, and the smell of his oil you cannot endure: which (though clothed in white he celebrates the wedding

[18] Olives, intended for the table, were gathered when they began to ripen and turn black. CRUQ.

[19] The fanciful, fashionable taste is but of short continuance; that of nature is unalterable. You are now as fond of turbot as Gallonius was of sturgeon. But were there no turbots in his time? Certainly there were; but no coxcomb had made them fashionable, and the prætor decided in favour of sturgeon. Another glutton brought turbots and storks into vogue, and perhaps we only wait for a third man of taste to assure us, that a roasted cormorant is infinitely more delicious than sturgeons, turbots, or storks. DAC.

[20] The storks built their nests in safety until the time of Augustus, when your prætor taught you to eat them. Asinius Sempronius, or, according to others, Rutilius Rufus, when candidate for the prætorship, entertained the people with a dish of storks. But the people, according to an ancient epigram, revenged the death of the poor birds by refusing the prætorship to their murderer. From this refusal the poet pleasantly calls him prætor. TORR.

festival,[21] his birth-day, or any other festal days) he pours out himself by little and little from a horn cruet, that holds two pounds, upon his cabbage, [but at the same time] is lavish enough of his old vinegar.

What manner of living therefore shall the wise man put in practice, and which of these examples shall he copy? On one side the wolf presses on, and the dog on the other, as the saying is. A person will be accounted decent, if he offends not by sordidness, and is not despicable through either extreme of conduct. Such a man will not, after the example of old Albutius, be savage whilst he assigns to his servants their respective offices; nor, like simple Nævius, will he offer greasy water to his company: for this too is a great fault.

Now learn what and how great benefits a temperate diet will bring along with it. In the first place, you will enjoy good health; for you may believe how detrimental a diversity of things is to any man, when you recollect that sort of food, which by its simplicity sat so well upon your stomach some time ago. But, when you have once mixed boiled and roast together, thrushes and shell-fish; the sweet juices will turn into bile, and the thick phlegm will bring a jarring upon the stomach. Do not you see, how pale each guest rises from a perplexing variety of dishes at an entertainment. Beside this, the body, overloaded with the debauch of yesterday, depresses the mind along with it, and dashes to the earth that portion of the divine spirit.[22] Another man, as soon as he has taken a quick repast, and rendered up his limbs to repose, rises vigorous to the duties of his calling. However, he may sometimes have recourse to better cheer; whether the returning year shall bring on a festival, or if he have a mind

[21] *Repotia* was a festival the day after the nuptials, when they drank and ate whatever remained of yesterday's entertainment, *quia iterum potaretur*. The construction is remarkable, *alios dierum festos*, for *alios qui ex diebus festi sunt*. *Albatus*, white was usually the colour of the Roman robe even at funeral feasts. *Ipse*, is a circumstance that strongly marks the avarice of Avidienus. Afraid that his guests or his servants should be too profuse of his oil, he pours it himself. The poet tells us, his bottle was of two pounds weight, as if it were his whole store, although he was extremely rich; and the vessel was of horn, that it might last a long time. All these particulars are in character. TORR. SAN.

[22] *Divinæ particulam auræ*. To raise the nobleness of the mind, Horace has borrowed the language of Plato, who says, that it is a portion of the universal soul of the world, that is, of the divinity himself. SAN.

to refresh his impaired body; and when years shall approach, and feeble age require to be used more tenderly. But as for you, if a troublesome habit of body, or creeping old age, should come upon you, what addition can be made to that soft indulgence, which you, now in youth and in health, anticipate?

Our ancestors praised a boar when it was stale: not because they had no noses; but with this view, I suppose, that a visitor coming later than ordinary [might partake of it], though a little musty, rather than the voracious master should devour it all himself while sweet. I wish that the primitive earth had produced me among such heroes as these.

Have you any regard for reputation, which affects the human ear more agreeably than music? Great turbots and dishes bring great disgrace along with them, together with expense. Add to this, that your relations and neighbours will be exasperated at you, while you will be at enmity with yourself and desirous of death in vain, since you will not in your poverty have three farthings left to purchase a rope withal. Trausius, you say, may with justice be called to account in such language as this; but I possess an ample revenue, and wealth sufficient for three potentates. Why then have you no better method of expending your superfluities? Why is any man, undeserving [of distressed circumstances], in want, while you abound? How comes it to pass, that the ancient temples of the gods are falling to ruin? Why do not you, wretch that you are, bestow something on your dear country, out of so vast a hoard? What, will matters always go well with you alone? O thou, that hereafter shalt be the great derision of thine enemies! which of the two shall depend upon himself in exigencies with most certainty? He who has used his mind and high-swollen body to redundancies; or he who, contented with a little and provident for the future, like a wise man in time of peace, shall make the necessary preparations for war?

That you may the more readily give credit to these things: I myself, when a little boy, took notice that this Ofellus did not use his unencumbered estate more profusely, than he does now it is reduced. You may see the sturdy husbandman labouring for hire in the land [once his own, but now] as-

signed [to others],[23] with his cattle and children, talking to this effect; I never ventured to eat any thing on a work-day except pot-herbs, with a hock of smoke-dried bacon. And when a friend came to visit me after a long absence, or a neighbour, an acceptable guest to me resting from work on account of the rain, we lived well; not on fishes fetched from the city, but on a pullet and a kid: then a dried grape, and a nut, with a large fig,[24] set off our second course. After this, it was our diversion to have no other regulation in our cups, save that against drinking to excess:[25] then Ceres worshipped [with a libation], that the corn might arise in lofty stems, smoothed with wine the melancholy of the contracted brow. Let fortune rage, and stir up new tumults: what can she do more to impair my estate? How much more savingly have either I lived, or how much less neatly have you gone, my children, since this new possessor came? For nature has appointed to be lord of this earthly property, neither him, nor me, nor any one. He drove us out: either iniquity or ignorance in the quirks of the law shall [do the same by] him;

[23] *Metato in agello.* Ofellus was involved in the same disgrace and ruin as Virgil, Tibullus, and Propertius. Their estates were given by Octavius to the veterans who had served against Brutus and Cassius in the battle of Philippi. That of Ofellus was given to Umbrenus, who hired its former master to till the ground for him, *mercede colonum.* As each soldier had a certain number of acres, the land was measured, *metato agello*, before it was divided. FRAN.

[24] *Duplice*, a kind of large fig, called *Marisca.* TURNEB. *B.* i. e. *bifida.* SCH. CRUQ. D. Figs were split into two parts, and when dried, served up *mensis secundis.* M'CAUL. *The last is proved to be the correct interpretation from Pallad. R. R. iv. 10, 35: "Subinde ficus, sicut est divisa, vertatur, ut ficorum coria siccentur et pulpæ tunc duplicatæ in cistellis serventur aut loculis." WHEELER.

[25] It was customary with the Romans to appoint some person *magister bibendi*, who directed the number of cups to be taken, and the toasts, &c. Ofella says there was no such person appointed, but that the only president that they had at their table was *culpa*, i. e. "excess." Each person took as much as he pleased, restricted only by the feeling that excess was culpable. The ancients had a *ludus*, which was intended to prevent the intoxication that might arise from being obliged to obey the *magister bibendi* in taking the number of cups which he directed. The person who (*aliquâ in re peccârat*) violated any of the convivial laws or customs, was punished by being obliged to drink a cupful, *poculo multabatur*, so that as no one drank but those who committed some breach of the laws, *bibere pœnæ et dedecoris esset, non invitationis aut magisterii.* Thus *culpa* was *magistra bibendi.* TURNEB.

certainly in the end his long-lived heir shall expel him. Now this field under the denomination of Umbrenus', lately it was Ofellus', the perpetual property of no man; for it turns to my use one while, and by and by to that of another. Wherefore, live undaunted; and oppose gallant breasts against the strokes of adversity.

## SATIRE III.

*Damasippus, in a conversation with Horace, proves this paradox of the Stoic philosophy, that most men are actually mad.*

YOU write so seldom, as not to call for parchment four times in the year, busied in reforming your writings, yet are you angry with yourself, that indulging in wine and sleep you produce nothing worthy to be the subject of conversation. What will be the consequence? But you took refuge here, it seems, at the very celebration of the Saturnalia, out of sobriety. Dictate therefore something worthy of your promises: begin. There is nothing. The pens are found fault with to no purpose, and the harmless wall, which must have been built under the displeasure of gods and poets, suffers [to no end]. But you had the look of one that threatened many and excellent things, when once your villa had received you, free from employment, under its warm roof. To what purpose was it to stow Plato upon Menander? Eupolis, Archilochus? For what end did you bring abroad such companions? What? are you setting about appeasing envy by deserting virtue? Wretch, you will be despised. That guilty Siren, sloth, must be avoided; or whatever acquisitions you have made in the better part of your life, must with equanimity be given up. May the gods and goddesses, O Damasippus, present you with a barber for your sound advice! But by what means did you get so well acquainted with me? Since all my fortunes were dissipated at the middle of the Exchange,[26] detached from all business of my own, I mind that of other people. For

[26] The name of Janus was sometimes given to those great arcades which crossed the streets of Rome. Livy tells us there were three of them erected in the forum, the middle of which Horace means, and which he distinguishes from the *Janus summus* and *Janus imus*. ED. DUBL.

formerly I used to take a delight in inquiring, in what vase the crafty Sisyphus might have washed his feet; what was carved in an unworkmanlike manner, and what more roughly cast than it ought to be; being a connoisseur, I offered a hundred thousand sesterces for such a statue; I was the only man who knew how to purchase gardens and fine seats to the best advantage: whence the crowded ways gave me the surname of Mercurial.[27] I know it well; and am amazed at your being cured of that disorder. Why a new disorder expelled the old one in a marvellous manner; as it is accustomed to do, when the pain of the afflicted side, or the head, is turned upon the stomach; as it is with a man in a lethargy, when he turns boxer, and attacks his physician. As long as you do nothing like this, be it even as you please. O my good friend, do not deceive yourself; you likewise are mad, and it is almost "fools all,"[28] if what Stertinius insists upon has any truth in it; from whom, being of a teachable disposition, I derived these admirable precepts, at the very time when, having given me consolation, he ordered me to cultivate a philosophical beard, and to return cheerfully from the Fabrician bridge. For when, my affairs being desperate, I had a mind to throw myself into the river, having covered my head[29] [for that purpose], he fortunately[30] was at my elbow; and [addressed me to this effect]: Take care,[31] how you do any thing

[27] *Mercuriale.* Damasippus, ever in character, boasts of a surname, which was given him in raillery. Mercury was the god of commerce, and when a man had an uncommon skill in buying and selling, he was usually called *Mercurialis*, or *favourite of Mercury*. A number of merchants, in 259, formed themselves into a body with this title, and dedicated a temple to the god. ED. DUBL.

[28] It was an absurd and ridiculous maxim among the Stoics, that all vicious people were equally fools and madmen. *Prope* does not therefore lessen the universality of the proposition, for the Latins frequently use *prope* and *fere* for *semper*. In the next line, *si* is not said in any manner of doubt, but has the force of an affirmative. FRAN.

[29] They who devoted themselves to death for the good of their country, covered their heads with their robe; and it is pleasant enough to see Damasippus doing that, in an excess of despair and folly, which Decius did in a transport of religion and generosity. This image gives rise to the raillery of Stertinius, when he says, "nil verbi, pereas quin fortiter, addam." SAN.

[30] *Dexter.—Opportunus, propitius.* The right was by the ancients esteemed the lucky side.

[31] *Cave faxis.* The Stoics despised death when it was honourable or necessary, but to drown himself in despair was a villanous death for a

unworthy of yourself; a false shame, says he, afflicts you, who dread to be esteemed a madman among madmen. For in the first place I will inquire, what it is to be mad: and, if this distemper be in you exclusively, I will not add a single word, to prevent you from dying bravely.

The school and sect of Chrysippus[32] deem every man mad, whom vicious folly or the ignorance of truth drives blindly forward. This definition takes in whole nations, this even great kings, the wise man [alone] excepted. Now learn, why all those, who have fixed the name of madman upon you, are as senseless as yourself. As in the woods, where a mistake makes people wander about from the proper path; one goes out of the way to the right, another to the left; there is the same blunder on both sides, only the illusion is in different directions: in this manner imagine yourself mad; so that he, who derides you, hangs his tail[33] not one jot wiser than yourself. There is one species of folly, that dreads things not in the least formidable; insomuch that it will complain of fires, and rocks, and rivers opposing it in the open plain; there is another different from this, but not a whit more approaching to wisdom, that runs headlong through the midst of flames and floods. Let the loving mother, the virtuous sister, the father, the wife, together with all the relations [of a man possessed with this latter folly], cry out; "Here is a deep ditch; here is a prodigious rock; take care of yourself:" he would give no more attention, than did the drunken Fufius[34] some

philosopher. But the pleasantry of the scene is, that Stertinius is going to convince him he is a fool, and then advises him not to do any thing which may dishonour his character. SAN. DAC.

[32] *Chrysippi porticus.* The *Porticus* was a famous gallery at Athens, where Zeno held his school, which, from the Greek word Στόα, Porticus, took the name of Stoic. SAN.

[33] *Caudam trahat.* A metaphor, as the old commentator well observes, taken from a custom amongst children, who tied a tail behind a person whom they had a mind to laugh at. FRAN.

[34] *Fufius* was an actor who, playing the character of Ilione, was supposed to be asleep, when the ghost of her son Polydore called to her, "Dear mother, hear me." Fufius, having drunk too much, fell really asleep; and Catienus, who played Polydore, having called to him, without waking him, the whole house, as if each of them was a Catienus, cried out, "Dear mother, hear me." The number of twelve hundred is a pleasant exaggeration. Accius or Pacuvius wrote a tragedy on the story of Ilione, and the whole passage is preserved to us in Cicero:

time ago, when he over-slept the character of Ilione, twelve hundred Catieni at the same time roaring out, *O mother, I call you to my aid.* I will demonstrate to you, that the generality of all mankind are mad in the commission of some folly similar to this.

Damasippus is mad for purchasing antique statues: but is Damasippus' creditor in his senses? Well, suppose I should say to you; receive this,[35] which you can never repay: will you be a madman, if you receive it; or would you be more absurd for rejecting a booty, which propitious Mercury offers? Take bond,[36] like the banker Nerius, for ten thousand sesterces; it will not signify: add the forms of Cicuta,[37] so versed in the knotty points of law: add a thousand obligations: yet this wicked Proteus will evade all these ties. When you shall drag him to justice, laughing as if his cheeks were none of his own;[38] he will be transformed into a boar, sometimes into a bird, sometimes into a stone, and when he pleases into a tree. (If to conduct one's affairs badly be the part of a

"Mater, te adpello, tu quæ somno curam suspensam levas,
Neque te mei miseret, surge et sepeli natum
Priusquam feræ volucresque."——— FRAN.

[35] Stertinius goes on to prove, not only that Damasippus is not a fool, in buying statues, since he does not pay for them, but that he would be a fool indeed, to refuse the favour which Mercury offers him, in the credulity of Perillius. DAC.

[36] *Scribere* is sometimes used in the sense "to acknowledge the receipt of a sum borrowed;" hence some have supposed that the meaning here is *scribe te decem* sestertia accepisse *a Nerio*, as said by Damasippus' creditor. Thus, *Nerius* is a banker, with whom Damasippus' creditor (Perillius) had lodged his money, and in whose books Damasippus, when drawing the ten sestertia, was required to acknowledge (*scribere*) the receipt of so much money. But I prefer Gesner's interpretation, *scribe decem* tabulas *a Nerio*, i. e. "draw out ten bonds with all the niceties of *Nerius*," a usurer, well known for his care in wording the bonds, so that there could be no evasion. M'CAUL.

[37] Cicuta was an old notary, who knew too well the practice of bonds, to neglect any clauses or forms, capable of binding these engagements. Such is the force of *nodosus*. *Tabulæ* are the bonds or contracts, from whence notaries were called *tabularii*. ED. DUBL.

[38] People are not usually too careful of what belongs to others, from whence this kind of proverbial expression, "laughing with another man's cheeks." Dacier very well observes, that our poet hath translated it from Homer, when he says of Penelope's lovers,

Οἳ δ' ἤδη γναθμοῖσι γελώων ἀλλορίοισι.

ODYSS. lib. xx. v. 346.

madman; and the reverse, that of a man well in his senses; the brain of Perillius, (believe me,) who orders you [that sum of money], which you can never repay, is much more unsound [than yours].

Whoever grows pale with evil ambition, or the love of money: whoever is heated with luxury, or gloomy superstition, or any other disease of the mind, I command him to adjust his garment and attend: hither, all of ye, come near me in order, while I convince you that you are mad.

By far the largest portion of hellebore is to be administered to the covetous: I know not, whether reason does not consign all Anticyra to their use. The heirs of Staberius engraved the sum [which he left them] upon his tomb: unless they had acted in this manner, they were under an obligation [39] to exhibit a hundred pair of gladiators to the people, beside an entertainment according to the direction of Arrius; and as much corn as is cut in Africa. Whether I have willed this rightly or wrongly, it was my will; be not severe against me, [cries the testator]. I imagine the provident mind of Staberius foresaw this. What then did he mean, when he appointed by will that his heirs should engrave the sum of their patrimony upon his tomb-stone? As long as he lived, he deemed poverty a great vice, and nothing did he more industriously avoid: insomuch that, had he died less rich by one farthing, the more iniquitous would he have appeared to himself. For every thing, virtue, fame, glory, divine and human affairs, are subservient to the attraction of riches; which whoever shall have accumulated, shall be illustrious, brave, just—What, wise too? Ay, and a king, and whatever else he pleases. This he was in hopes would greatly redound to his praise, as if it had been an acquisition of his virtue. In what respect did the Grecian Aristippus [40] act like this; who ordered his slaves to throw

[39] *Damnati populo.* Alluding to the form of the will, in which the testator required any thing of his heir, HERES DAMNAS ESTO.

[40] Aristippus was the chief of the Cyrenaic sect. He held that pleasure was the *summum bonum*, and virtue only valuable as it was a means of gaining that pleasure. Epicurus was perfectly rigid when compared to his master Aristippus, and by our author's manner of mentioning him in many parts of his works, we may believe he was no enemy to so convenient a philosophy. Staberius, who was a Stoic, has given an ill-natured turn to this story, which is much commended by Cicero; for Aristippus had only one slave, whom he commanded to throw away as much of his money as was too heavy to carry. DAC. SAN.

away his gold in the midst of Libya; because, encumbered with the burden, they travelled too slowly? Which is the greater madman of these two? An example is nothing to the purpose, that decides one controversy by creating another. If any person were to buy lyres, and (when he had bought them) to stow them in one place, though neither addicted to the lyre nor to any one muse whatsoever: if a man were [to buy] paring knives and lasts, and were no shoemaker; sails fit for navigation, and were averse to merchandising; he would every where deservedly be styled delirious, and out of his senses. How does he differ from these, who hoards up cash and gold, [and] knows not how to use them when accumulated, and is afraid to touch them as if they were consecrated? If any person before a great heap of corn should keep perpetual watch with a long club, and, though the owner of it, and hungry, should not dare to take a single grain from it; and should rather feed upon bitter leaves: if, while a thousand hogsheads of Chian, or old Falernian, is stored up within, (nay, that is nothing—three hundred thousand,) he drink nothing, but what is mere sharp vinegar: again—if, wanting but one year of eighty, he should lie upon straw, who has bed-clothes rotting in his chest, the food of worms and moths; he would seem mad, belike, but to few persons: because the greatest part of mankind labours under the same malady.

Thou dotard, hateful to the gods, dost thou guard [these possessions], for fear of wanting thyself: to the end that thy son, or even the freedman thy heir, should guzzle it all up? For how little will each day deduct from your capital, if you begin to pour better oil upon your greens and your head, filthy with scurf not combed out? If any thing be a sufficiency, wherefore are you guilty of perjury, [wherefore] do you rob, and plunder from all quarters? Are you in your senses? If you were to begin to pelt the populace with stones, and the slaves, which you purchased with your money; all the very boys and girls will cry out that you are a madman. When you despatch your wife with a rope, and your mother with poison, are you right in your head? Why not? You neither did this at Argos, nor slew your mother with the sword as the mad Orestes did. What, do you imagine that he ran mad after he had murdered his parent; and that he was not driven mad by the wicked Furies, before he warmed his sharp steel

in his mother's throat? Nay, from the time that Orestes is deemed to have been of a dangerous disposition, he did nothing in fact that you can blame: he did not dare to offer violence with his sword to Pylades, nor to his sister Electra; he only gave ill language to both of them, by calling her a Fury, and him some other [opprobrious name], which his violent choler suggested.

Opimius, poor amid silver and gold hoarded up within, who used to drink out of Campanian ware Veientine[41] wine on holidays, and mere dregs on common days, was some time ago taken with a prodigious lethargy; insomuch that his heir was already scouring about his coffers and keys, in joy and triumph. His physician, a man of much despatch and fidelity, raises him in this manner: he orders a table to be brought, and the bags of money to be poured out, and several persons to approach in order to count it: by this method he sets the man upon his legs again. And at the same time he addresses him to this effect. Unless you guard your money your ravenous heir will even now carry off these [treasures] of yours. What, while I am alive? That you may live, therefore, awake; do this. What would you have me do? Why your blood will fail you that are so much reduced, unless food and some great restorative be administered to your decaying stomach. Do you hesitate? come on; take this ptisan[42] made of rice. How much did it cost? A trifle. How much then? Eight asses. Alas! what does it matter, whether I die of a disease, or by theft and rapine?

Who then is sound? He, who is not a fool. What is the covetous man? Both a fool and a madman. What—if a man be not covetous, is he immediately [to be deemed] sound? By no means. Why so, Stoic? I will tell you. Such a patient (suppose Craterus [the physician] said this) is not sick at the heart. Is he therefore well, and shall he get up? No, he will forbid that; because his side or his reins are harassed with an acute disease. [In like manner], such a man is not

[41] This wine was of a very poor kind. See Lamb and Orelli.

[42] *Ptisanarium.* The diminutive from *ptisana*, unhusked barley or rice, from *πτίσσω*, *tundo*, *tundendo decortico*. Here it means a decoction, a kind of gruel made of *oryza*, rice. M'Caul. Rice was not then cultivated in Italy, but brought from Egypt. The physician purposely uses the diminutive *ptisanarium*, lest he should terrify the patient. Wheeler.

perjured, nor sordid; let him then sacrifice a hog to his propitious[43] household gods. But he is ambitious and assuming. Let him make a voyage, [then,] to Anticyra. For what is the difference, whether you fling whatever you have into a gulf, or make no use of your acquisitions?

Servius Oppidius, rich in the possession of an ancient estate, is reported when dying to have divided two farms at Canusium between his two sons, and to have addressed the boys, called to his bed-side, [in the following manner]: When I saw you, Aulus, carry your playthings and nuts carelessly in your bosom, [and] to give them and game them away; you, Tiberius, count them, and anxious hide them in holes; I was afraid lest a madness of a different nature should possess you: lest you, [Aulus,] should follow the example of Nomentanus, you, [Tiberius,] that of Cicuta. Wherefore each of you, entreated by our household gods, do you (Aulus) take care lest you lessen; you (Tiberius) lest you make that greater, which your father thinks and the purposes of nature determine to be sufficient. Further, lest glory should entice you, I will bind each of you by an oath: whichever of you shall be an ædile or a prætor, let him be excommunicated and accursed. Would you destroy your effects in [largesses of] peas, beans, and lupines,[44] that you may stalk in the circus at large, or stand in a statue of brass, O madman, stripped of your paternal estate, stripped of your money? To the end, forsooth, that you may gain those applauses, which Agrippa[45] gains, like a cunning fox imitating a generous lion?

[43] All the good and bad accidents that happened in families were generally attributed to the domestic gods, and as these gods were the sons of the goddess of madness, they were particularly worshipped by persons disordered in their understanding. Stertinius therefore advises the man, who by the favour of these gods is neither perjured nor a miser, gratefully to sacrifice a swine to them, which was their usual sacrifice. "Fruge Lares, avidâque porcâ." Od. xxiii. lib. ii. TORR.

[44] Distributions of these were frequently made to the people by candidates for offices, or by the ædiles at the celebration of the games, &c. Oppidius asks whether his son would be so mad as to squander his property in largesses, for the sake of obtaining an office in the state. Comp. Pers. Sat. v. 177:

——— "Vigila et cicer ingere largè
Rixanti populo, nostra ut Floralia possint
Aprici meminisse senes." M'CAUL.

[45] This compliment to Agrippa is introduced with great art, as if it

O Agamemnon, why do you prohibit any one from burying[46] Ajax? I am a king. I, a plebeian,[47] make no further inquiry. And I command a just thing: but, if I seem unjust to any one, I permit you to speak your sentiments with impunity. Greatest of kings, may the gods grant that, after the taking of Troy, you may conduct your fleet safe home: may I then have the liberty to ask questions, and reply in my turn? Ask. Why does Ajax, the second hero after Achilles, rot [above ground], so often renowned for having saved the Grecians; that Priam and Priam's people may exult in his being unburied, by whose means so many youths have been deprived of their country's rites of sepulture? In his madness he killed a thousand sheep, crying out that he was destroying the famous Ulysses and Menelaus, together with me. When you at Aulis substituted your sweet daughter in the place of a heifer before the altar, and, O impious one, sprinkled her head with the salt cake; did you preserve soundness of mind? Why do you ask? What then did the mad Ajax do, when he slew the flock with his sword? He abstained from any violence to his wife and child, though he had imprecated many curses on the sons of Atreus: he neither hurt Teucer, nor even Ulysses himself. But I, out of prudence, appeased the gods with blood, that I might loose the ships detained on an adverse shore. Yes, madman! with your own blood. With my own [indeed], but I was not mad. Whoever shall form images foreign from reality, and confused in the tumult of impiety,[48] will always be reckoned disturbed in mind: and it will not matter, whether he go wrong through folly or through

escaped accidentally, and it is enlivened by a comparison, short but noble. Although Agrippa had been consul in 717, yet he condescended to accept the office of ædile in 720, when he entertained the people with a magnificence and expense beyond what they had ever seen. SAN.

[46] Here opens another scene, in which a king and a Stoic are engaged, and in which the philosopher proves in good form, that this greatest of monarchs is a fool and a madman. The debate arises from an incident in a play of Sophocles, in which Agamemnon refuses to let Ajax be buried. SAN.

[47] Agamemnon finding his answer *I am a king*, a little too tyrannical, adds, *our decree was just*. Perhaps the humility of the philosopher, either ironical or serious, in seeming to allow his royal manner of deciding the question, extorted this condescension from the monarch. ED. DUBL.

[48] i. e. the perturbation of mind leading to the commission of impious deeds. ORELLI.

rage. Is Ajax delirious, while he kills the harmless lambs? Are you right in your head, when you wilfully commit a crime for empty titles? And is your heart pure, while it is swoln with the vice?[49] If any person should take a delight to carry about with him in his sedan a pretty lambkin; and should provide clothes, should provide maids and gold for it, as for a daughter; should call it Rufa and Rufilla, and should destine it a wife for some stout husband; the prætor would take power from him being interdicted, and the management of him would devolve to his relations, that were in their senses. What, if a man devote his daughter instead of a dumb lambkin, is he right of mind? Never say it. Therefore, wherever there is a foolish depravity, there will be the height of madness. He who is wicked, will be frantic too: Bellona, who delights in bloodshed, has thundered about him, whom precarious fame has captivated.

Now, come on, arraign with me luxury and Nomentanus: for reason will evince that foolish spendthrifts are mad. This fellow, as soon as he received a thousand talents of patrimony, issues an order that the fishmonger, the fruiterer, the poulterer, the perfumer, and the impious gang of the Tuscan alley, sausage-maker, and buffoons, the whole shambles, together with [all] Velabrum, should come to his house in the morning. What was the consequence? They came in crowds. The pander makes a speech: "Whatever I, or whatever each of these has at home, believe it to be yours: and give your order for it either directly, or to-morrow." Hear what reply the considerate youth made. "You sleep booted in Lucanian snow, that I may feast on a boar: you sweep the wintry seas for fish: I am indolent, and unworthy to possess so much. Away with it: do you take for your share ten hundred thousand sesterces; you as much; you thrice the sum, from whose house your spouse runs, when called for, at midnight." The son of Æsopus, [the actor,] (that he might, forsooth, swallow a million of sesterces at a draught,) dissolved in vinegar a precious pearl, which he had taken from the ear of Metella: how much wiser was he [in doing this], than if he had thrown the same into a rapid river, or the common sewer? The progeny of Quintius Arrius, an illustrious pair of brothers, twins in wickedness and trifling and the love

[49] i. e. of madness.

of depravity, used to dine upon nightingales bought at a vast expense: to whom do these belong? Are they in their senses? Are they to be marked with chalk, or with charcoal?[50]

If an [aged person] with a long beard should take a delight to build baby-houses, to yoke mice to a go-cart, to play at odd and even, to ride upon a long cane, madness must be his motive. If reason shall evince, that to be in love is a more childish thing than these; and that there is no difference whether you play the same games in the dust as when three years old, or whine in anxiety for the love of a harlot: I beg to know, if you will act as the reformed Polemon[51] did of old? Will you lay aside those ensigns of your disease, your rollers, your mantle, your mufflers; as he in his cups is said to have privately torn the chaplet from his neck, after he was corrected by the speech of his fasting master? When you offer apples to an angry boy, he refuses them: here, take them, you little dog; he denies you: if you don't give them, he wants them. In what does an excluded lover differ [from such a boy]; when he argues with himself whether he should go or not to that very place whither he was returning without being sent for, and cleaves to the hated doors? "What, shall I not go to her now, when she invites me of her own accord? or shall I rather think of putting an end to my pains? She has excluded me; she recalls me: shall I return? No, not if she would implore me." Observe the servant, not a little wiser: "O master, that which has neither moderation nor conduct, cannot be guided by reason or method. In love these evils are inherent; war [one while], then peace again. If any one should endeavour to ascertain these things, that are various as the weather, and fluctuating

[50] A proverbial expression. Are they to be acquitted or condemned? Are they wise or foolish?

[51] Polemon was a young Athenian, who running one day through the streets, inflamed with wine, had the curiosity to go into the school of Xenocrates to hear him. The philosopher dexterously turned his discourse upon sobriety, and spoke with so much force, that Polemon from that moment renounced his intemperance, and pursued his studies with such application, as to succeed Xenocrates in his school. Thus, as Valerius Maximus remarks, being cured by the wholesome medicine of one oration, he became a celebrated philosopher, from an infamous prodigal. FRAN.

by blind chance; he will make no more of it, than if he should set about raving by right reason and rule." What—when, picking the pippins[52] from the Picenian apples, you rejoice if haply you have hit the vaulted roof; are you yourself? What—when you strike out faltering accents from your antiquated palate, how much wiser are you than [a child] that builds little houses? To the folly [of love] add bloodshed, and stir the fire with a sword.[53] I ask you, when Marius lately, after he had stabbed Hellas, threw himself down a precipice, was he raving mad? Or will you absolve the man from the imputation of a disturbed mind, and condemn him for the crime, according to your custom, imposing on things names that have an affinity in signification?

There was a certain freedman, who, an old man, ran about the streets in a morning fasting, with his hands washed, and prayed thus: "Snatch me alone from death," (adding some solemn vow,) "me alone, for it is an easy matter for the gods:" this man was sound in both his ears and eyes; but his master, when he sold him, would except his understanding, unless he were fond of law-suits.[54] This crowd too Chrysippus places in the fruitful family of Menenius.

O Jupiter, who givest and takest away great afflictions, (cries the mother of a boy, now lying sick a-bed for five months,) if this cold quartan ague should leave the child, in the morning of that day on which you enjoin a fast,[55] he shall stand naked in the Tiber. Should chance or the physician relieve the patient from his imminent danger, the infatuated

[52] The allusion is to a habit of determining the good or bad fortune of love by trying to strike the ceiling of a room with the pippins of apples. They were raised by pressing them between the first two fingers. If they struck the ceiling it was considered a good omen. WHEELER.

[53] *Ignum gladio scrutare*, a proverbial precept of Pythagoras, "Do not stir the fire with a sword." Our poet uses it as an easy transition from the folly to the madness of lovers. We shall have another proverb in the same sense, "Oleum adde camino." CRUQ. SAN.

[54] For an action would lay against those who gave a false character to a slave.

[55] The Romans had regular fasts in honour of Jupiter, which were usually celebrated on Thursday, which was consecrated to that god. They began on the eve; and the next morning, which was properly the fast day, was observed with great rigour and austerity. Aristophanes, in his Clouds, introduces the chorus, complaining that they had a fast, rather than a feast; which was observed on the third day of the festival of Ceres. DAC. SAN.

mother will destroy [the boy] placed on the cold bank, and will bring back the fever. With what disorder of the mind is she stricken? Why, with a superstitious fear of the gods.

These arms Stertinius, the eighth of the wise men, gave to me, as to a friend, that for the future I might not be roughly accosted without avenging myself. Whosoever shall call me madman, shall hear as much from me [in return]; and shall learn to look back upon the bag that hangs behind him.[56]

O Stoic, so may you, after your damage, sell all your merchandise the better: what folly (for, [it seems,] there are more kinds than one) do you think I am infatuated with? For to myself I seem sound. What—when mad Agave carries the amputated head of her unhappy son, does she then seem mad to herself? I allow myself a fool (let me yield to the truth) and a madman likewise: only declare this, with what distemper of mind you think me afflicted. Hear, then: in the first place you build; that is, though from top to bottom you are but of the two-foot size, you imitate the tall: and you, the same person, laugh at the spirit and strut of Turbo in armour, too great for his [little] body: how are you less ridiculous than him? What—is it fitting that, in every thing Mæcenas does, you, who are so very much unlike him and so much his inferior, should vie with him? The young ones of a frog being in her absence crushed by the foot of a calf, when one of them had made his escape, he told his mother what a huge beast had dashed his brethren to pieces. She began to ask, how big? Whether it were so great? puffing herself up. Greater by half. What, so big? when she had swelled herself more and more. If you should burst yourself, says he, you will not be equal to it. This image bears no great dissimilitude to you. Now add poems, (that is, add oil to the fire,) which if ever any man in his senses made, why so do you. I do not mention your horrid rage.—At length, have done—your way of living beyond your fortune—confine yourself to your own affairs, Damasippus—those thousand passions for the fair, the young. Thou greater madman, at last, spare thy inferior.

[56] *Respicere ignoto.* This passage may be explained by the fifty-third line, *caudam trahat,* or by the fable, which says, that Jupiter threw over the shoulder of every mortal two bags; that the faults of his neighbour were put into the bag before him, and his own into that behind him. FRAN.

## SATIRE IV.

*He ridicules the absurdity of one Catius, who placed the summit of human felicity in the culinary art.*

WHENCE, and whither, Catius? I have not time [to converse with you], being desirous of impressing on my memory some new precepts; such as excel Pythagoras, and him that was accused by Anytus,[57] and the learned Plato. I acknowledge my offence, since I have interrupted you at so unlucky a juncture: but grant me your pardon, good sir, I beseech you. If any thing should have slipped you now, you will presently recollect it: whether this talent of yours be of nature, or of art, you are amazing in both. Nay, but I was anxious, how I might retain all [these precepts]; as being things of a delicate nature, and in a delicate style. Tell me the name of this man; and at the same time whether he is a Roman, or a foreigner? As I have them by heart, I will recite the precepts: the author shall be concealed.

Remember to serve up those eggs that are of an oblong make, as being of sweeter flavour and more nutritive than the round ones: for, being tough-shelled, they contain a male yolk. Cabbage that grows in dry lands, is sweeter than that about town: nothing is more insipid than a garden much watered. If a visitor should come unexpectedly upon you in the evening, lest the tough old hen prove disagreeable to his palate, you must learn to drown it in Falernian wine mixed [with water]:[58] this will make it tender. The mushrooms that grow in meadows,[59] are of the best kind: all others are dangerously trusted. That man shall spend his summers healthy, who shall finish his dinners with mulberries[60] black [with ripeness], which he shall have gathered from the tree

[57] *Anytique reum.* Socrates, whom Anytus and Melitus accused.

[58] But Bentley is doubtless right in reading "musto" for "misto."

[59] Nothing is more false. The best mushrooms, generally speaking, are those gathered in woods, heaths, or downs. They are more wholesome and better flavoured than those of meadows. TORR. DAC.

[60] The ancients had only one meal, but they who could not wait for supper, usually eat bread, grapes, figs, or mulberries in the morning. But our doctor, who loved to dine in form, taught another method, and in contradiction to Galen and the faculty, would have his disciples eat mulberries after dinner. ED. DUBL.

before the sun becomes violent. Aufidius used to mix honey with strong Falernian injudiciously; because it is right to commit nothing to the empty veins, but what is emollient: you will, with more propriety, wash your stomach with soft mead. If your belly should be hard bound, the limpet and coarse cockles will remove obstructions, and leaves of the small sorrel; but not without Coan white wine. The increasing moons swell the lubricating shell-fish. But every sea is not productive of the exquisite sorts. The Lucrine muscle is better than the Baian murex: [the best] oysters come from the Circæan promontory; cray-fish from Misenum: the soft Tarentum plumes herself on her broad escalops. Let no one presumptuously arrogate to himself the science of banqueting, unless the nice doctrine of tastes has been previously considered by him with exact system. Nor is it enough to sweep away a parcel of fishes from the expensive stall, [while he remains] ignorant for what sort stewed sauce is more proper, and what being roasted, the sated guest will presently replace himself on his elbow. Let the boar from Umbria, and that which has been fed with the acorns of the scarlet oak, bend the round dishes of him who dislikes all flabby meat: for the Laurentian[61] boar, fattened with flags and reeds, is bad. The vineyard does not always afford the most eatable kids. A man of sense will be fond of the shoulders of a pregnant hare. What is the proper age and nature of fish and fowl, though inquired after, was never discovered before my palate. There are some, whose genius invents nothing but new kinds of pastry. To waste one's care upon one thing, is by no means sufficient; just as if any person should use all his endeavours for this only, that the wine be not bad; quite careless what oil he pours upon his fish. If you set out Massic[62] wine in fair weather, should there be any thing thick in it, it will be attenuated by the nocturnal air, and the smell unfriendly to the nerves will go off: but, if filtrated through linen, it will lose its entire flavour. He, who skilfully mixes the Surrentine wine with Falernian lees, collects the sediment with a pigeon's egg: because the yoke sinks to the bot-

[61] All people of taste have ever esteemed boars fed in marshy ground as of higher flavour, although Catius is of another opinion. DAC.

[62] Pliny advises, that all the best Campanian wines should be exposed night and day to the sun, moon, rain, and winds. ED. DUBL.

tom, rolling down with it all the heterogeneous parts. You may rouse the jaded toper with roasted shrimps and African cockles; for lettuce after wine floats upon the soured stomach: by ham preferably, and by sausages, it craves to be restored to its appetite: nay, it will prefer every thing which is brought smoking hot from the nasty eating-houses. It is worth while to be acquainted with the two kinds of sauce. The simple consists of sweet oil; which it will be proper to mix with rich wine and pickle, but with no other pickle than that by which the Byzantian jar has been tainted. When this, mingled with shredded herbs, has boiled, and sprinkled with Corycian saffron, has stood, you shall over and above add what the pressed berry of the Venafran olive yields. The Tiburtian yield to the Picenian apples in juice, though they excel in look. The Venusian grape is proper for [preserving in] pots. The Albanian you had better harden in the smoke. I am found to be the first that served up this grape with apples in neat little side-plates, to be the first [likewise that served up] wine-lees and herring-brine, and white pepper finely mixed with black salt. It is an enormous fault to bestow three thousand sesterces on the fish-market, and then to cramp the roving fishes in a narrow dish. It causes a great nausea in the stomach, if even the slave touches the cup with greasy hands, while he licks up snacks, or if offensive grime has adhered to the ancient goblet. In trays, in mats, in sawdust, [that are so] cheap, what great expense can there be? But, if they are neglected, it is a heinous shame. What, should you sweep Mosaic pavements with a dirty broom made of palm, and throw Tyrian carpets over the unwashed furniture of your couch! forgetting that, by how much less care and expense these things are attended, so much the more justly may [the want of them] be censured, than of those things which cannot be obtained but at the tables of the rich?

Learned Catius, entreated by our friendship and the gods, remember to introduce me to an audience [with this great man], whenever you shall go to him. For, though by your memory you relate every thing to me, yet as a relater you cannot delight me in so high a degree. Add to this the countenance and deportment of the man; whom you, happy in having seen, do not much regard, because it has been your

lot: but I have no small solicitude, that I may approach the distant fountain-heads, and imbibe the precepts of [such] a blessed life.

## SATIRE V.

*In a humorous dialogue between Ulysses and Tiresias, he exposes those arts which the fortune-hunters made use of, in order to be appointed the heirs of rich old men.*

BESIDE what you have told me, O Tiresias, answer to this petition of mine: by what arts and expedients may I be able to repair my ruined fortunes—why do you laugh? Does it already seem little to you, who are practised in deceit, to be brought back to Ithaca, and to behold [again] your family household gods? O you who never speak falsely to any one, you see how naked and destitute I return home, according to your prophecy: nor is either my cellar, or my cattle there, unembezzled by the suitors [of Penelope]. But birth and virtue, unless [attended] with substance, is viler than sea-weed.

Since (circumlocutions apart) you are in dread of poverty, hear by what means you may grow wealthy. If a thrush, or any [nice] thing for your own private [eating], shall be given you; it must wing way to that place, where shines a great fortune, the possessor being an old man: delicious apples, and whatever dainties your well-cultivated ground brings forth for you, let the rich man, as more to be reverenced than your household god, taste before him: and, though he be perjured, of no family, stained with his brother's blood, a runaway; if he desire it, do not refuse to go along with him, his companion on the outer side.[63] What, shall I walk cheek by jole with a filthy Damas? I did not behave myself in that manner at Troy, contending always with the best. You must then be poor. I will command my sturdy soul to bear this evil; I have formerly endured even greater. Do thou, O prophet, tell me forthwith how I may amass riches, and heaps of

[63] *Comes exterior.* In walking with a companion, the side which is most exposed was called the outer side. When three people walk together, the middle is, for the same reason, the most honourable place, and is therefore always given to the person of most distinction, *interior comes*

money. In troth I have told you, and tell you again. Use your craft to lie at catch for the last wills of old men: nor, if one or two cunning chaps escape by biting the bait off the hook, either lay aside hope, or quit the art, though disappointed in your aim. If an affair, either of little or great consequence, shall be contested at any time at the bar; whichever of the parties lives wealthy without heirs, should he be a rogue, who daringly takes the law of a better man, be thou his advocate: despise the citizen, who is superior in reputation, and [the justness of] his cause, if at home he has a son or a fruitful wife. [Address him thus:] "Quintus, for instance, or Publius,[64] (delicate ears delight in the prefixed name,) your virtue has made me your friend. I am acquainted with the precarious quirks of the law; I can plead causes. Any one shall sooner snatch my eyes from me, than he shall despise and defraud you of an empty nut. This is my care, that you lose nothing, that you be not made a jest of." Bid him go home, and make much of himself. Be his solicitor yourself: persevere, and be stedfast: whether the glaring dog-star shall cleave the infant statues; or Furius, distended with his greasy paunch,[65] shall spue white snow over the wintry Alps. Do not you see (shall some one say, jogging the person that stands next to him by the elbow) how indefatigable he is, how serviceable to his friends, how acute? [By this means] more tunnies shall swim in, and your fish-ponds will increase.

Further, if any one in affluent circumstances has reared[66]

[64] *Quinte, puta, aut Publi.* A slave was no sooner made free, than he qualified himself with a surname, such as Marcus, Quintus, Publius, which carried a sort of dignity with it. The Romans saluted each other by their surnames. ED. DUBL.

[65] *Pingui tentus omaso.* Furius, in a poem on the Gallic war, had said, "Jupiter hibernas canâ nive conspuet Alpes." Horace applies it to the author himself, adding "pingui tentus omaso" in ridicule of his appearance. "Furius poeta immanis ventris, qui nivem spumam (*sputum*) Jovis dixit. Ideo hoc ejus personæ dedit, tanquam ipse spuat." Sch. Acr. Orelli considers three several passages of Furius to be referred to: "rubra canicula findit infantes statuas," is a passage in which Furius describes a statuary, and thought he had a happy expression in *infantes*, since statues are ἀγλώττοι. By "pingui tentus omasi," some general opposed to Cæsar is described as a voracious barbarian. "Hibernas," &c., formed the first line of his poetical history of Cæsar. WHEELER.

[66] *Sublatus.* A word taken from a Roman custom of laying their new-born infants on the ground, and educating only those the father took up.

an ailing son, lest a too open complaisance to a single man should detect you, creep gradually into the hope [of succeeding him], and that you may be set down as second heir; and, if any casualty should despatch the boy to Hades, you may come into the vacancy. This die seldom fails. Whoever delivers his will to you to read, be mindful to decline it, and push the parchment from you: [do it] however in such a manner, that you may catch with an oblique glance, what the first page[67] intimates to be in the second clause: run over with a quick eye, whether you are sole heir, or co-heir with many. Sometimes a well-seasoned lawyer, risen from a Quinquevir,[68] shall delude the gaping raven; and the fortune-hunter Nasica shall be laughed at by Coranus.

What, art thou in a [prophetic] raving; or dost thou play upon me designedly, by uttering obscurities? O son of Laërtes, whatever I shall say will come to pass, or it will not:[69] for the great Apollo gives me the power to divine. Then, if it is proper, relate what that tale means.

At that time when the youth dreaded by the Parthians, an offspring derived from the noble Æneas, shall be mighty by land and sea; the tall daughter of Nasica, averse to pay the sum total of his debt, shall wed the stout Coranus. Then the son-in-law shall proceed thus: he shall deliver his will to his father-in-law, and entreat him to read it; Nasica will at length receive it, after it has been several times refused, and silently perusé it; and will find no other legacy left to him and his, except leave to lament.

[67] *Prima cera* signifies the first page of the will, in which the testator's name was written. *Secundo versu* was the second line, which contained the names of the heirs and co-heirs. ED. DUBL

[68] The *quinqueviri* were a kind of tip-staff or bailiff, in the colonies and municipal towns. A man who had passed through these little offices may well be supposed to be sufficiently knowing in what we call the practice, and from this body public notaries and registers were chosen. Horace therefore means, by *scriba recoctus*, a notary sufficiently refined in tricks and cunning of the law. *Recoctus* is properly double-dyed, that hath fully taken its colour. ED. DUBL.

[69] *Quidquid dicam, aut erit, aut non.* It is well disputed, whether these words be spoken in jest by Tiresias, to rally the monarch who consults him, or whether he too carelessly discovers his real opinion of his art. There is an acknowledged ambiguity and double meaning in his expression, under which, perhaps, the poet disguises his own sentiments of the skill of these diviners, and the frequent ambiguity of their answers. ED. DUBL.

To these [directions I have already given], I subjoin the [following]: if haply a cunning woman or a freedman have the management of an old driveller, join with them as an associate: praise them, that you may be praised in your absence. This too is of service; but to storm [the capital] itself excels this method by far. Shall he, a dotard, scribble wretched verses? Applaud them. Shall he be given to pleasure? Take care [you do not suffer him] to ask you: of your own accord complaisantly deliver up your Penelope to him, as preferable [to yourself]. What—do you think so sober and so chaste a woman can be brought over, whom [so many] wooers could not divert from the right course? Because, forsooth, a parcel of young fellows came,[70] who were too parsimonious to give a great price, nor so much desirous of an amorous intercourse, as of the kitchen. So far your Penelope is a good woman: who, had she once tasted of one old [doting gallant], and shared with you the profit, like a hound, will never be frighted away from the reeking skin [of the new-killed game].

What I am going to tell you happened when I was an old man. A wicked hag at Thebes was, according to her will, carried forth[71] in this manner: her heir bore her corpse, anointed with a large quantity of oil, upon his naked shoulders; with the intent that, if possible, she might escape from him even when dead: because, I imagine, he had pressed upon her too much when living. Be cautious in your addresses: neither be wanting in your pains, nor immoderately exuberant. By garrulity you will offend the splenetic and morose. You must not, however, be too silent. Be Davus in the play; and stand with your head on one side, much like one who is in great awe. Attack him with complaisance: if the air freshens, advise him carefully to cover up his precious head: disengage him from the crowd, by opposing your shoulders to it: closely attach your ear to him, if chatty. Is

[70] Although Tiresias gives Ulysses no better reason for his wife's virtue, than the avarice of her lovers, yet the monarch hears him patiently, since even this reason proves her sufficiently virtuous. Our poet probably took the hint of this passage from Homer, who makes Penelope reproach her wooers with their want of generosity, and never having made her any presents. The next line is almost a translation from the Odyssey. DAC.

[71] *Elata.* Carried out to the funeral pile. Ter. Andr. i. *Effertur, Imus.*

he immoderately fond of being praised? Pay him home, till he shall cry out, with his hands lifted up to heaven, "Enough:" and puff up the swelling bladder with tumid speeches. When he shall have [at last] released you from your long servitude and anxiety; and being certainly awake, you shall hear [this article in his will]? "Let Ulysses be heir to one-fourth of my estate:" "is then my companion Damas now no more? Where shall I find one so brave, and so faithful?" Throw out [something of this kind] every now and then: and if you can a little, weep for him. It is fit to disguise your countenance, which [otherwise] would betray your joy. As for the monument, which is left to your own discretion, erect it without meanness. The neighbourhood will commend the funeral handsomely performed. If haply any of your co-heirs, being advanced in years, should have a dangerous cough; whether he has a mind to be a purchaser of a farm or a house out of your share, tell him, you will [come to any terms he shall propose, and] make it over to him gladly for a trifling sum.[72] But the imperious Proserpine drags me hence. Live, and prosper.

## SATIRE VI.

*He sets the conveniences of a country retirement in opposition to the troubles of a life in town.*

THIS was [ever] among the number of my wishes: a portion of ground not over-large, in which was a garden, and a fountain with a continual stream close to my house, and a little woodland besides. The gods have done more abundantly, and better, for me [than this]. It is well: O son of Maia,[73]

[72] *Nummo addicere.* When a counterfeit sale was made of any thing left by will, the forms of law were to be observed. The buyer and seller went to a public officer called *Libripens*, or keeper of the scales; and the purchaser, in the presence of witnesses, put a piece of money into the scales, which the seller took out, and the sale was afterwards deemed legal. "Nummo addicere" means here "to sell for nothing." DAC.

[73] *Maiâ nate.* He addresses his prayer to Mercury, not only because this god was a patron of poets in general, and that our poet, as we find in his Odes, was particularly obliged to his protection, but because he presided over industry and merchandise, as Hercules did over any sudden, accidental increase of riches. Besides, he was a rural deity, from

I ask nothing more save that you would render these donations lasting to me. If I have neither made my estate larger by bad means, nor am in a way to make it less by vice or misconduct; if I do not foolishly make any petition of this sort—"Oh that that neighbouring angle, which now spoils the regularity[74] of my field, could be added! Oh that some accident would discover to me an urn [full] of money! as it did to him, who having found a treasure, bought that very ground he before tilled in the capacity of an hired servant, enriched by Hercules' being his friend;" if what I have at present satisfies me grateful, I supplicate you with this prayer: make my cattle fat for the use of their master, and every thing else, except my genius:[75] and, as you are wont, be present as my chief guardian. Wherefore, when I have removed myself from the city to the mountains and my castle,[76] (what can I polish, preferably to my satires and prosaic muse?[77]) neither evil ambition destroys me, nor the heavy[78] south wind, nor the sickly autumn, the gain of baleful Libitina.

Father of the morning,[79] or Janus, if with more pleasure

whence, as Dacier observes, the poet recommends the preservation of his cattle to him, in the fourteenth verse. ED. DUBL.

[74] *Denormat.* We do not find this word in any other author.

[75] *Et cætera præter ingenium.* The Latins, in speaking of style, have expressions not unlike this, "pingue et adipatum dicendi genus; poetæ pinguæ quiddam sonantes." This playing on the double meaning of the word is much in our author's manner. Besides, Mercury was a good-humoured god, who understood raillery, "de Dis non tristibus." Yet, for fear the deity should understand the word *cætera* in its full extent, and without any exception, the petitioner pleasantly guards against the fatness of his understanding. SAN.

[76] *In arcem.* He considers his country-house as a citadel inaccessible to the cares that besieged him at Rome. SAN.

[77] *Musâque pedestri.* The muse of satire, if such an expression may be allowed, is a muse on foot. She borrowed nothing from poetry but the measures of her verses, the only particular in which she differs from prose. SAN.

[78] *Plumbeus.* This epithet very well expresses the weight of air in autumn, when the south wind was usually attended at Rome with pestilential disorders. Our poet's country-house was covered by mountains, in such a manner, that he had nothing to fear from its bad effects. SAN.

[79] *Matutine pater.* The satire properly begins here, and all before this line is a kind of preface. Janus presided over time, and therefore Horace calls him god of the morning, as if time seemed to be renewed every morning. DAC.

thou hearest thyself [called by that name], from whom men commence the toils of business, and of life, (such is the will of the gods,) be thou the beginning of my song. At Rome you hurry me away to be bail; "Away, despatch, [you cry,] lest any one should be before-hand with you in doing that friendly office:"[80] I must go, at all events, whether the north wind sweep the earth, or winter contracts the snowy day into a narrower circle.[81] After this, having uttered in a clear and determinate manner [the legal form], which may be a detriment to me, I must bustle through the crowd; and must disoblige the tardy. "What is your will, madman, and what are you about, impudent fellow?" So one accosts me with his passionate curses. "You jostle every thing that is in your way, if with an appointment full in your mind you are posting away to Mæcenas." This pleases me, and is like honey: I will not tell a lie. But by the time I reach the gloomy Esquiliæ, a hundred affairs of other people's encompass me on every side: "Roscius begged that you would be with him at the court-house[82] to-morrow before the second hour." "The secretaries[83] requested you would remember, Quintus, to return to-day about an affair of public concern, and of great consequence." "Get Mæcenas to put his signet[84]

[80] To show that all his distresses begin with the morning, the poet introduces Janus, the god of the morning, pressing them upon him, *Urge sive Aquilo*, &c. DAC.

[81] *Interiore diem.* The northern part of the circle which the sun describes in summer is more distant from our earth than the southern part, which he describes in winter. From hence our days are shorter in winter than in summer, and he may therefore be poetically said to drive the day in a smaller course. Horace calls this circle "interiorem gyrum," by a figure taken from chariot races, in which the driver who turned nearest the goal marked a narrower circle, and was therefore called "interior quadriga," with regard to those who were obliged to take a larger compass, "exteriores." TORR.

[82] *Ad Puteal.* He describes a part of the forum by a monument erected there to show that the place had been struck with thunder. Some of the prætors held a kind of sessions there to decide private causes. TORR.

[83] Horace had purchased an employment of register or secretary to the treasury; from whence he is desired to return early from Mæcenas to consult about some important affair that concerned the whole body. TORR.

[84] *Imprimat his, cura.* Dion informs us, that Mæcenas was intrusted with the great seal of the Roman empire, and was a kind of Lord High Chancellor to Augustus. ED. DUBL.

to these tablets." Should one say, "I will endeavour at it:" "If you will, you can," adds he; and is more earnest. The seventh year approaching to the eighth is now elapsed, from the time that Mæcenas began to reckon me in the number of his friends; only thus far, as one he would like to take along with him in his chariot, when he went a journey, and to whom he would trust such kind of trifles as these: "What is the hour?" "Is Gallina, the Thracian, a match for [the gladiator] Syrus?" "The cold morning air begins to pinch those that are ill provided against it;"—and such things as are well enough intrusted to a leaky ear. For all this time, every day and hour, I have been more subjected to envy. Our son of fortune here, says every body, witnessed the shows in company with [Mæcenas], and played with him in the Campus Martius." Does any disheartening report spread from the rostrum through the streets, whoever comes in my way consults me [concerning it]: "Good Sir, have you (for you must know, since you approach nearer the gods) heard any thing relating to the Dacians?"[85] "Nothing at all for my part," [I reply]. "How you ever are a sneerer!" "But may all the gods torture me, if I know any thing of the matter." "What! will Cæsar give the lands[86] he promised the soldiers, in Sicily, or in Italy?" As I am swearing I know nothing about it, they wonder at me, [thinking] me, to be sure, a creature of extraordinary and profound secrecy.

Among things of this nature the day is wasted by me, mortified as I am, not without such wishes as these: O rural retirement, when shall I behold thee? and when shall it be

[85] The Dacians had engaged in Antony's army at the battle of Actium, in 723, and Octavius had disobliged them by refusing some favours which they demanded by their ambassadors. He was obliged to send Marcus Crassus against them the year following. SAN.

[86] Octavius promised the soldiers who had served under him in reducing Sicily, that he would divide some of the conquered lands amongst them. But the war in which he was engaged against Antony obliged him to defer the division, and immediately after the battle of Actium, the troops, which he had sent to Brundusium, mutinied on this occasion. He went himself to stop the beginning of a revolt, which might have been attended with most dangerous consequences. This affair was all the news at Rome when our poet wrote the present Satire.

Sicily was called Triquetra from its triangular figure, and in some ancient coins it is represented under the figure of a woman with three legs. DAC. SAN.

in my power to pass through the pleasing oblivion of a life full of solicitude, one while with the books of the ancients, another while in sleep and leisure? O when shall the bean related to Pythagoras,[87] and at the same time herbs well larded with fat bacon, be set before me? O evenings, and suppers fit for gods! with which I and my friends regale ourselves in the presence of my household gods; and feed my saucy slaves with viands, of which libations have been made. The guest, according to every one's inclination, takes off the glasses of different sizes, free from mad laws: whether one of a strong constitution chooses hearty bumpers; or another more joyously gets mellow with moderate ones. Then conversation arises, not concerning other people's villas and houses, nor whether Lepos dances well or not; but we debate on what is more to our purpose, and what it is pernicious not to know—whether men are made happy by riches or by virtue; or what leads us into intimacies, interest or moral rectitude; and what is the nature of good, and what its perfection. Meanwhile, my neighbour Cervius prates away old stories relative to the subject. For, if any one ignorantly commends the troublesome riches of Aurelius, he thus begins: "On a time a country-mouse is reported to have received a city-mouse into his poor cave, an old host his old acquaintance; a blunt fellow and attentive to his acquisitions, yet so as he could [on occasion] enlarge his narrow soul in acts of hospitality. What need of many words? He neither grudged him the hoarded vetches, nor the long oats; and bringing in his mouth a dry plum, and nibbled scraps of bacon, presented them to him, being desirous by the variety of the supper to get the better of the daintiness of his guest, who hardly touched with his delicate tooth the several things: while the father of the family himself, extended on fresh straw, ate a spelt and darnel, leaving that which was better [for his guest]. At length the citizen addressing him, 'Friend,' says he, 'what delight have you to live laboriously on the ridge of a rugged thicket? Will you not

[87] It was one of Pythagoras' precepts, that beans should not be used as food by any of his disciples, lest in the course of transformation the soul of some relative should be placed therein, and thus the impiety (as Lucian, Micyll., represents it) be as great as that of eating human flesh. Hence Horace humorously calls the bean "Pythagoræ cognata." There are various reasons assigned for the origin of this precept. M'CAUL.

prefer men and the city to the savage woods? Take my advice, and go along with me: since mortal lives are allotted to all terrestrial animals, nor is there any escape from death, either for the great or the small. Wherefore, my good friend, while it is in your power, live happy in joyous circumstances: live mindful of how brief an existence you are.' Soon as these speeches had wrought upon the peasant, he leaps nimbly from his cave: thence they both pursue their intended journey, being desirous to steal under the city-walls by night. And now the night possessed the middle region of the heavens, when each of them set foot in a gorgeous palace, where carpets dyed with crimson grain glittered upon ivory couches, and many baskets of a magnificent entertainment remained, which had yesterday been set by in baskets piled upon one another. After he had placed the peasant then, stretched at ease, upon a splendid carpet; he bustles about like an adroit host, and keeps bringing up one dish close upon another, and with an affected civility performs all the ceremonies, first tasting of every thing he serves up. He, reclined, rejoices in the change of his situation, and acts the part of a boon companion in the good cheer; when on a sudden a prodigious rattling of the folding doors shook them both from their couches. Terrified they began to scamper all about the room, and more and more heartless to be in confusion, while the lofty house resounded with [the barking of] mastiff dogs; upon which, says the country-mouse, 'I have no desire for a life like this; and so farewell: my wood and cave, secure from surprises, shall with homely tares comfort me.'"

## SATIRE VII.

*One of Horace's slaves, making use of that freedom which was allowed them at the Saturnalia,*[88] *rates his master in a droll and severe manner.*

I HAVE a long while been attending [to you], and would fain speak a few words [in return; but, being] a slave, I am

[88] The particular design of the Saturnalia was to represent that equality, which reigned amongst mankind in the reign of Saturn, when they lived according to the laws of nature, without distinction of conditions. Horace here introduces a slave, asserting that a wise man alone is free, and that

afraid. What, Davus? Yes, Davus, a faithful servant to his master[89] and an honest one, at least sufficiently so: that is, for you to think his life in no danger. Well, (since our ancestors would have it so,) use the freedom of December: speak on.

One part of mankind are fond of their vices with some constancy, and adhere to their purpose: a considerable part fluctuates; one while embracing the right, another while liable to depravity. Priscus, frequently observed with three rings, sometimes with his left hand bare,[90] lived so irregularly that he would change his robe every hour; from a magnificent edifice, he would on a sudden hide himself in a place, whence a decent freedman could scarcely come out in a decent manner; one while he would choose to lead the life of a rake at Rome, another while that of a teacher at Athens; born under the evil influence of every Vertumnus.[91] That buffoon, Volanerius, when the deserved gout had crippled his fingers, maintained [a fellow] that he had hired at a daily price, who took up the dice and put them into the box for him: yet by how much more constant he was in his vice, by so much less wretched was he than the former person, who is now in difficulties by too loose, now by ~~two~~ tight a rein.

"Will you not tell to-day, you varlet, whither such wretched stuff as this tends?" "Why, to you, I say." "In what respect to me, scoundrel?" "You praise the happiness and manners of the ancient [Roman] people; and yet, if any god were on a sudden to reduce you to them, you, the same man,

real liberty consists in not obeying our passions, or being enslaved to vice. He boldly reproaches his master with his faults and follies. His reasoning is so natural, sensible, and pressing, that Horace, not being able to answer him, at last loses his temper, and is obliged to make use of menaces to silence him. DAC. SAN.

[89] *Frugi quod sit satis; hoc est.* The common people have always imagined that persons of eminent merit do not live so long as others. From thence the proverb, "Too witty to live long." TORR.

[90] *Lævâ Priscus inani.* Before the time of Horace it was infamous to wear more than one ring, and when they began to wear more, they carried them only on the left hand, which was less exposed to public view, as if they would seem ashamed of such marks of effeminacy. BOND.

[91] *Vertumnis natus iniquis.* Vertumnus presided over the regular seasons of the year, established by the laws of nature. Priscus was therefore born in despite of the god, because all his changes were an effect of oddness and whim. Horace multiplies this god, *Vertumni*, from the different forms under which he was represented. BOND. SAN.

would earnestly beg to be excused; either because you are not really of opinion, that what you bawl about is right; or because you are irresolute in defending the right, and hesitate, in vain desirous to extract your foot from the mire. At Rome, you long for the country; when you are in the country, fickle, you extol the absent city to the skies. If haply you are invited out no where to supper, you praise your quiet dish of vegetables; and as if you ever go abroad upon compulsion, you think yourself so happy, and do so hug yourself, that you are obliged to drink out no where. Should Mæcenas lay his commands upon you to come late, at the first lighting up of the lamps, as his guest; 'Will nobody bring the oil with more expedition? Does anybody hear?' You stutter with a mighty bellowing, and storm with rage. Milvius, and the buffoons [who expected to sup with you], depart, after having uttered curses not proper to be repeated. Any one may say, for I own [the truth], that I am easy to be seduced by my appetite; I snuff up my nose at a savoury smell: I am weak, lazy; and, if you have a mind to add any thing else, I am a sot. But seeing you are as I am, and perhaps something worse, why do you wilfully call me to an account, as if you were the better man; and, with specious phrases, disguise your own vice? What, if you are found out to be a greater fool than me, who was purchased for five hundred drachmas? Forbear to terrify me with your looks; restrain your hand and your anger, while I relate to you what Crispinus' porter taught me.

"Another man's wife captivates you; a harlot, Davus: which of us sins more deservingly of the cross? When keen nature inflames me, any common wench that picks me up, dismisses me neither dishonoured, nor caring whether a richer or a handsomer man enjoys her next. You, when you have cast off your ensigns of dignity, your equestrian ring and your Roman habit, turn out from a magistrate a wretched Dama,[92] hiding with a cape your perfumed head: are you not really what you personate? You are introduced, apprehensive

[92] Davus calls his master a judge, because Augustus had granted him the privilege of wearing a ring and a robe, called Angusticlavium. Thus he was in some measure incorporated into the body of Roman knights, whom Augustus appointed to determine civil causes. DAC. By "Dama" he means a mere slave.

[of consequences]; and, as you are altercating with your passions, your bones shake with fear. What is the difference whether you go condemned, [like a gladiator,] to be galled with scourges,[93] or slain with the sword; or be closed up in a filthy chest, where [the maid], conscious of her mistress' crime, has stowed you? Has not the husband of the offending dame a just power over both; against the seducer even a juster? But she neither changes her dress, nor place, nor sins to that excess [which you do]; since the woman is in dread of you, nor gives any credit to you, though you profess to love her. You must go under the yoke knowingly, and put all your fortune, your life, and reputation, together with your limbs, into the power of an enraged husband. Have you escaped? I suppose, then, you will be afraid [for the future]; and, being warned, will be cautious. No, you will seek occasion when you may be again in terror, and again may be likely to perish. O so often a slave! What beast, when it has once escaped by breaking its toils, absurdly trusts itself to them again? You say, "I am no adulterer." Nor, by Hercules, am I a thief, when I wisely pass by the silver vases. Take away the danger, and vagrant nature will spring forth, when restraints are removed. Are you my superior, subjected as you are, to the dominion of so many things and persons, whom the prætor's rod,[94] though placed on your head three or four times over, can never free from this wretched solicitude? Add, to what has been said above, a thing of no less weight; whether he be an underling,[95] who obeys the master-slave, (as it is your custom to affirm,) or only a fellow-slave, what am I in respect of you? You, for example, who have the command of me, are in subjection to other things, and are led about, like a puppet moveable by means of wires not its own.

[93] *Uri virgis.* The people who sold themselves to a master of gladiators, engaged in a form or bond, called *auctoramentum*, to suffer every thing, sword, fire, whips, chains, and death. They were then received into the profession, and styled *auctorati*. From thence the terms came to be used for all kinds of infamous engagements. TORR.

[94] *Vindicta* was a rod, which the lictor laid on the head of a person whom the prætor made free. Plautus calls it *festuca*.

[95] *Nam sive vicarius.* The Romans generally had a master-slave in every family, *servus atriensis*, and all other slaves were called by one common name, *vicarii*. The first, who commands, is not less a slave than those who obey. SAN.

"Who then is free? The wise man, who has dominion over himself; whom neither poverty, nor death, nor chains affright; brave in the checking of his appetites, and in contemning honours; and, perfect in himself, polished and round as a globe,[96] so that nothing from without can retard, in consequence of its smoothness; against whom misfortune ever advances ineffectually. Can you, out of these, recognise any thing applicable to yourself? A woman demands five talents of you, plagues you, and after you are turned out of doors, bedews you with cold water: she calls you again. Rescue your neck from this vile yoke; come, say, I am free, I am free. You are not able: for an implacable master oppresses your mind, and claps the sharp spurs to your jaded appetite, and forces you on though reluctant. When you, mad one, quite languish at a picture by Pausias;[97] how are you less to blame than I, when I admire the combats of Fulvius and Rutuba and Placideianus, with their bended knees painted in crayons[98] or charcoal, as if the men were actually engaged, and push and parry, moving their weapons? Davus is a scoundrel, and a loiterer; but you have the character of an exquisite and expert connoisseur in antiquities. If I am allured by a smoking pasty, I am a good-for-nothing fellow: does your great virtue and soul resist delicate entertainments? Why is a tenderness for my belly too destructive for me? For my back pays for it. How do you come off with more impunity, since you hanker after such dainties as cannot be had for a little expense? Then those delicacies, perpetually taken, pall upon the stomach; and your mistaken feet refuse to support your sickly body. Is that boy guilty, who by night pawns a stolen scraper for some grapes? Has he nothing servile about him, who in indulgence to his guts sells his estates? Add to this, that you yourself cannot be an hour by yourself, nor dispose of your leisure in a right manner; and shun yourself as a fugitive and vagabond, one while en-

[96] *Teres atque rotundus.* The metaphor is taken from a globe, and our vices are those inequalities which stop us in our course of virtue. ED. DUBL.

[97] Pausias was a famous flower-painter. Lucullus gave a thousand crowns for a picture, in which he drew his mistress Glycera sitting, and making a wreath of flowers. He was a contemporary of Apelles. ED. DUBL.

[98] Masters of gladiators hung the pictures of their best champions, such as Fulvius, Rutuba, or Placideianus, at the door of the house where they fought. ED. DUBL.

deavouring with wine, another while with sleep, to cheat care —in vain: for the gloomy companion presses upon you, and pursues you in your flight."

"Where can I get a stone?" "What occasion is there for it?" "Where some darts?" "The man is either mad, or making verses." "If you do not take yourself away in an instant, you shall go [and make] a ninth labourer[99] at my Sabine estate."

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## SATIRE VIII.

*A smart description of a miser ridiculously acting the extravagant.*

How did the entertainment of that happy fellow Nasidienus please you? for yesterday, as I was seeking to make you my guest, you were said to be drinking there from mid-day.[100] [It pleased me so], that I never was happier in my life. Say (if it be not troublesome) what food first calmed your raging appetite.

In the first place, there was a Lucanian boar, taken when the gentle south wind blew,[1] as the father of the entertainment affirmed; around it sharp rapes, lettuces, radishes; such things as provoke a languid appetite; skirrets, anchovies, dregs of Coan wine. These once removed, one slave, tucked high with a purple cloth,[2] wiped the maple table, and a second gathered up whatever lay useless, and whatever could offend the guests;[3] swarthy Hydaspes advances like an

[99] *Accedes opera. Opera* for *servus.* Slaves who were employed in tilling their lands were generally chained, so that the threat was enough to alarm Davus, and end the conversation. Dac.

[100] Nasidienus, to give himself an air of a rake, dines three or four hours before the usual time; or perhaps Fundanius would insinuate, that this was too solemn a feast for vulgar hours. Ed. Dubl.

[1] Either by buying it cheap, or keeping it too long, the boar was tainted; but our host would insinuate that it had a particular flavour, by being taken when the wind was south, which made it delicate and tender. Ed. Dubl.

[2] The table was made of maple, a cheap and common wood; but Nasidienus, in an air of polite extravagance, makes the slaves wipe it with a purple napkin. Dac.

[3] This was the pretence, that nothing might offend his guests, but his design was that nothing might be lost. Dac.

Attic maid with Ceres' sacred rites, bearing wines of Cæcubum; Alcon brings those of Chios, undamaged by the sea.[4] Here the master [cries], "Mæcenas, if Alban or Falernian wine delight you more than those already brought, we have both."

Ill-fated riches! But, Fundanius, I am impatient to know, who were sharers in this feast where you fared so well.

I was highest, and next me was Viscus Thurinus, and below, if I remember, was Varius; with Servilius Balatro, Vibidius, whom Mæcenas had brought along with him, unbidden guests. Above [Nasidienus] himself was Nomentanus, below him Porcius, ridiculous for swallowing whole cakes at once. Nomentanus [was present] for this purpose, that if any thing should chance to be unobserved, he might show it with his pointing finger. For the other company, we, I mean, eat [promiscuously] of fowls, oysters, fish, which had concealed in in them a juice far different from the known: as presently appeared, when he reached to me the entrails of a plaice and of a turbot, such as had never been tasted before. After this he informed me that honey-apples were most ruddy when gathered under the waning moon. What difference this makes you will hear best from himself. Then [says] Vibidius to Balatro; "If we do not drink to his cost, we shall die in his debt:" and he calls for larger tumblers. A paleness changed the countenance of our host, who fears nothing so much as hard drinkers: either because they are more freely censorious; or because heating wines deafen the subtle [judgment of the] palate. Vibidius and Balatro, all following their example, pour whole casks into Alliphanians;[5] the guests of the lowest couch did no hurt to the flagons. A lamprey is brought in, extended in a dish, in the midst of floating shrimps. Whereupon, "This," says the master, "was caught when pregnant; which, after having young, would have been less delicate in its flesh." For these a sauce is mixed up; with oil which the best cellar of Venafrum pressed, with pickle from the juices of the Iberian fish, with wine of five years old,

[4] It was customary to mix sea-water with the strong wines of Greece; but Fundanius, when he tells them that the wine Alcon carried had not a drop of water in it, would have us understand that this wine had never crossed the seas, and that it was an Italian wine which Nasidienus recommended for Chian. LAMB.

[5] Large cups, so called from Allifæ, a town of Samnium. SCHOL.

but produced on this side the sea, while it is boiling (after it is boiled, the Chian wine suits it so well, that no other does better than it) with white pepper, and vinegar which, by being vitiated, turned sour the Methymnean grape. I first showed the way to stew in it green rockets and bitter elecampane: Curtillus, [to stew in it] the sea-urchins unwashed, as being better than the pickle which the sea shell-fish yields.

In the mean time the suspended tapestry made a heavy downfal upon the dish, bringing along with it more black dust than the north wind ever raises on the plains of Campania. Having been fearful of something worse, as soon as we perceived there was no danger, we rise up. Rufus, hanging his head, began to weep, as if his son had come to an untimely death: what would have been the end, had not the discreet Nomentanus thus raised his friend! "Alas! O fortune, what god is more cruel to us than thou? How dost thou always take pleasure in sporting with human affairs!" Varius could scarcely smother a laugh with his napkin. Balatro, sneering at every thing, observed; "This is the condition of human life, and therefore a suitable glory will never answer your labour. Must you be rent and tortured with all manner of anxiety, that I may be entertained sumptuously; lest burned bread, lest ill-seasoned soup should be set before us; that all your slaves should wait, properly attired and neat? Add, besides, these accidents; if the hangings should tumble down, as just now, if the groom slipping with his foot should break a dish. But adversity is wont to disclose, prosperity to conceal, the abilities of a host as well as of a general." To this Nasidienus: "May the gods give you all the blessings, whatever you can pray for, you are so good a man and so civil a guest;" and calls for his sandals.[6] Then on every couch you might see divided whispers buzzing in each secret ear.

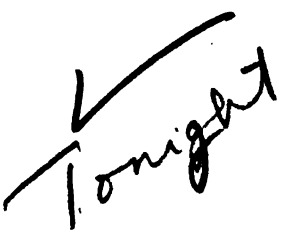
I would not choose to have seen any theatrical entertainments sooner than these things. But come, recount what you laughed at next. While Vibidius is inquiring of the slaves, whether the flagon was also broken,[7] because cups

[6] That he might rise from table. The guests laid their slippers at the end of the bed when they went to supper. TORR.

[7] Vibidius asks whether the groom had broken the bottle at the same time that he broke the dish, for *quoque* certainly refers to *patinam lapsus*

were not brought when he called for them; and while a laugh is continued on feigned pretences, Balatro seconding it; you, Nasidienus, return with an altered countenance, as if to repair your ill-fortune by art. Then followed the slaves, bearing on a large charger the several limbs of a crane besprinkled with much salt, not without flour, and the liver of a white goose fed with fattening figs, and the wings of hares torn off, as a much daintier dish than if one eats them with the loins. Then we saw blackbirds also set before us with scorched breasts, and ring-doves without the rumps: delicious morsels! did not the master give us the history of their causes and natures: whom we in revenge fled from, so as to taste nothing at all; as if Canidia, more venomous than African serpents, had poisoned them with her breath.

*frangat agaso.* He seems to insinuate, that Nasidienus had given orders to his slaves, not to be in too much haste to supply the guests with wine, but to let them call for it more than once. CRUQ. DAC.



THE FIRST BOOK

OF THE

# EPISTLES OF HORACE.

## EPISTLE I.

TO MÆCENAS.

*The poet renounces all verses of a ludicrous turn, and resolves to apply himself wholly to the study of philosophy, which teaches to bridle the desires and to postpone every thing to virtue.*

MÆCENAS, the subject of my earliest song, justly entitled to my latest, dost thou seek to engage me again in the old lists,[1] having been tried sufficiently, and now presented with the foils?[2] My age is not the same, nor is my genius. Veianius, his arms consecrated on a pillar of Hercules' temple,[3] lives snugly retired in the country, that he may not from the extremity of the sandy amphitheatre so often supplicate the people's favour.[4] Some one seems frequently to ring in my

[1] Horace began to write at about four and twenty years of age, and he is now past fifty, which he expresses by *antiquo ludo*, in allusion to the schools, where the gladiators performed their exercises. *Mens* may be understood either for a poetical genius, or an inclination to poetry. SAN. DAC.

[2] *Donatum jam rude.* The poet compares himself with a gladiator; hence the use here of the terms of that art. A gladiator, who had been relieved from the necessity of appearing before the public—who had received his discharge—is said to be *donatus rude*, and called *rudiarius*. The *rudis* with which he was presented, as an emblem of freedom, was a rod, or wooden sword. M'CAUL.

[3] After Hercules had wandered through the world destroying monsters, he was received by Greece and Italy among the gods who presided over athletic exercises. There was generally a temple of this god near their amphitheatres, in which the ceremonies of receiving a new gladiator into the company were performed. From thence the custom of consecrating their arms to Hercules. FRAN.

[4] Horace would authorize his resolution of writing no more, by the

purified ear: "Wisely in time dismiss the aged courser, lest, an object of derision, he miscarry at last, and break his wind." Now therefore I lay aside both verses, and all other sportive matters; my study and inquiry is after what is true and fitting, and I am wholly engaged in this: I lay up, and collect rules which I may be able hereafter to bring into use. And lest you should perchance ask under what leader, in what house [of philosophy], I enter myself a pupil: addicted to swear implicitly to the ipse-dixits[5] of no particular master, wherever the weather drives me, I am carried a guest. One while I become active, and am plunged in the waves of state affairs, a maintainer and a rigid partisan of strict virtue; then again I relapse insensibly into Aristippus' maxims,[6] and endeavour to adapt circumstances to myself, not myself to circumstances. As the night seems long to those with whom a mistress has broken her appointment, and the day slow to those who owe their labour; as the year moves lazy with minors, whom the harsh guardianship of their mothers confines; so all that time to me flows tedious and distasteful, which delays my hope and design of strenuously executing that which is of equal benefit to the poor and to the rich, which neglected will be of equal detriment to young and to old. It remains, that I conduct and comfort myself by these

example of Veianius, who having often fought with success, was now retired into the country, determined never to expose himself on the stage again; for if a gladiator, who had obtained his discharge, ever engaged a second time, he was obliged to have a second dismission, and going to the end of the stage, *extrema arena*, implored the people to give him his freedom. CRUQ.

[5] *Jurare in verba magistri.* Similarly, Epod. 15, in verba jurant *mea.* Soldiers *jurabant in verba imperatoris*, when entering on service; whence, some think Horace alludes to this; others suppose the reference is to the great respect paid to Pythagoras by his disciples, so that the words *ipse dixit* were sufficient to decide any question. M'CAUL.

[6] This naturally follows the three preceding lines. Horace could not long be reconciled to the two former systems; one required too much action, the other too much severity; and neither of them was agreeable to his inclination. The morals of Aristippus, who founded the Epicurean sect, were more to his taste; but as this philosophy was very severely treated by the Stoics and Cynics, the poet pleasantly says, he was obliged with privacy, *furtim*, to follow its doctrines. SAN.

Horace, by the word *furtim*, might probably mean, that he did not pass, at once, from the sentiments of Zeno to those of Aristippus, as it were from one extreme to another, but by degrees, and insensibly. DAC. This latter view is correct. ED. DUBL.

principles: your sight is not so piercing as that of Lynceus; you will not however therefore despise being anointed, if you are sore-eyed: nor because you despair of the muscles of the invincible Glycon,[7] will you be careless of preserving your body from the knotty gout. There is some point to which we may reach, if we can go no further. Does your heart burn with avarice, and a wretched desire of more? Spells there are, and incantations, with which you may mitigate this pain, and rid yourself of a great part of the distemper. Do you swell with the love of praise? There are certain purgations which can restore you, a certain treatise being perused thrice with purity of mind. The envious, the choleric, the indolent, the slave to wine, to women—none is so savage that he cannot be tamed, if he will only lend a patient ear to discipline. It is virtue, to fly vice; and the highest wisdom, to have lived free from folly. You see with what toil of mind and body you avoid those things which you believe to be the greatest evils, a small fortune and a shameful repulse. An active merchant, you run to the remotest Indies,[8] fleeing poverty through sea, through rocks, through flames. And will you not learn, and hear, and be advised by one who is wiser, that you may no longer regard those things which you foolishly admire and wish for? What little champion of the villages and of the streets would scorn being crowned at the great Olympic[9] games, who had the hopes and happy oppor-

[7] The commentators tell us, from Diogenes Laërtius, that Glycon was a philosopher who had made himself famous by his dexterity and skill in athletic exercises. But more probably the poet alluded to a statue, which is still preserved in Rome, and of which Montfaucon speaks thus: Hercules of Farnese, the finest of all, is a master-piece of art. It is the performance of Glycon the Athenian, who hath immortalized his name by putting it at the bottom of this admirable statue. It is a common language to say of pictures and statues, *that is a Titian; this an Apelles.* FRAN.

[8] Before the reduction of Egypt and Arabia, the passage to India was unknown to the Romans. Strabo tells us that while Ælius Gallus governed Egypt, in the year 727, a fleet of twenty-six merchant-men set sail from the Red Sea for India. The Romans, attentive to their interests, flattered by an immense profit arising from this trade, and allured by the rich and beautiful merchandise, which it brought home, applied themselves earnestly to this commerce, from whence the poet reproaches them with excessive covetousness. SAN.

[9] Horace, in imitation of Pindar, calls the Olympic games "magna," great, because they were the most famous of all that were celebrated in

tunity of victory without toil? Silver is less valuable than gold, gold than virtue. "O citizens, citizens, money is to be sought first; virtue after riches:" this the highest Janus[10] from the lowest inculcates; young men and old repeat these maxims, having their bags and account-books hung on the left arm. You have soul, have breeding, have eloquence and honour: yet if six or seven thousand sesterces be wanting to complete your four hundred thousand, you shall be a plebeian.[11] But boys at play[12] cry, "You shall be king, if you will do right." Let this be a [man's] brazen wall, to be conscious of no ill, to turn pale with no guilt. Tell me, pray, is the Roscian law best, or the boy's song which offers the kingdom to them that do right, sung by the manly Curii and Camilli? Does he advise you best, who says, "Make a fortune; a fortune, if you can, honestly; if not, a fortune by any means"—that you may view from a nearer bench the tear-moving poems of Puppius: or he, who still animates and enables you to stand free and upright, a match for haughty fortune?

If now perchance the Roman people should ask me, why I do not enjoy the same sentiments with them, as [I do the same] porticoes, nor pursue or fly from whatever they admire or dislike; I will reply, as the cautious fox once answered the sick lion: "Because the foot-marks all looking toward you,

Greece. "Coronari Olympia" may be considered as a Greek phrase, or we may understand *inter* or *ad*. "Vincere Olympia" is found in Ennius, and "qui Pythia, Isthmia, Nemea, Olympia vicit," in Festus. TORR.

[10] The Latins sometimes gave the name of "Janus" to those grand arcades which crossed their streets, like triumphal arches, and under which they walked. They had many of this kind in the different streets of Rome, but we are expressly told by Livy, that there were three in the forum. "Forum porticibus tabernisque claudendum, et Janos tres faciendos locavere." Here the bankers, merchants, and usurers had their shops. SAN.

[11] *Plebs eris.* Horace here speaks according to the law of Roscius Otho, by which a Roman knight was to be possessed of four hundred thousand sesterces, (about £3125 of our money,) and a senator, of eight hundred thousand. Augustus afterwards raised the sum to twelve hundred thousand. A sesterce is here computed at one penny, half-penny, farthing, half-farthing of our money. ED. DUBL.

[12] We cannot justly say what this game was. Torrentius, with much probability, conjectures that it was the Urania of the Greeks, in which a ball was thrown into the air, and the boy who struck it oftenest, before it fell to the ground, was called king of the game. ED. DUBL.

and none from you, affright me." Thou art a monster with many heads. For what shall I follow, or whom? One set of men delight to farm the public revenues: there are some, who would inveigle covetous widows with sweet-meats and fruits, and insnare old men, whom they would send [like fish] into their ponds: the fortunes of many grow by concealed usury. But be it, that different men are engaged in different employments and pursuits: can the same persons continue an hour together approving the same things? If the man of wealth has said, "no bay in the world outshines delightful Baiæ," the lake and the sea presently feel the eagerness of their impetuous master: to whom, if a vicious humour gives the omen, [he will cry,]—"to-morrow, workmen, ye shall convey hence your tools to Teanum." Has he in his hall the genial[13] bed? He says nothing is preferable to, nothing better than a single life. If he has not, he swears the married only are happy. With what noose can I hold this Proteus, varying thus his forms? What does the poor man? Laugh [at him too]: is he not for ever changing his garrets, beds, baths, barbers? He is as much surfeited in a hired boat, as the rich man is, whom his own galley conveys.

If I meet you with my hair cut[14] by an uneven barber, you laugh [at me]: if I chance to have a ragged shirt under a handsome coat, or if my disproportioned gown fits me ill, you laugh. What [do you do], when my judgment contradicts itself? it despises what it before desired; seeks for that which lately it neglected; is all in a ferment, and is inconsistent in the whole tenor of life; pulls down, builds up, changes square to round. In this case, you think I am mad

[13] The nuptial bed was consecrated to Genius, the god of nature, who presided over the birth of human kind. It was placed in the "aula," or "atrium," the hall, where the statues of the ancestors of the family were ranged, and where the women generally sat, to let the public be witnesses of their domestic industry. "Matres familiâs vestræ in atriis operantur domorum, industriâs testificantes suas." Arnobius. ED. DUBLIN.

[14] *Curatus.* This is the reading of all the manuscripts. The Romans used "curare capillos" for "tondere, secare;" "cura" and "curatio capillorum" for "capillorum sectio" and "tonsura." "Curtatus," which hath been received by very many editors, is entirely useless, and can by no means agree with the poet's thought. He is not ridiculous because the barber hath cut his hair too short, but because he hath cut it unequally, "inæqualis tonsor." BENT. CUN. SAN.

in the common way, and you do not laugh, nor believe that I stand in need of a physician, or of a guardian assigned by the prætor; though you are the patron of my affairs, and are disgusted at the ill-paired nail of a friend that depends upon you, that reveres you.

In a word, the wise man is inferior to Jupiter alone, is rich, free, honourable, handsome, lastly, king of kings; above all, he is sound, unless when phlegm is troublesome.[15]

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## EPISTLE II.

### TO LOLLIUS.[16]

*He prefers Homer to all the philosophers, as a moral writer, and advises an early cultivation of virtue.*

WHILE you, great Lollius, declaim at Rome, I at Prænèste have perused over again the writer of the Trojan war; who teaches more clearly, and better than Chrysippus and Crantor, what is honourable, what shameful, what profitable, what not so. If nothing hinders you, hear why I have thus concluded. The story in which, on account of Paris's intrigue, Greece is stated to be wasted in a tedious war with the barbarians, contains the tumults of foolish princes and people. Antenor gives his opinion for cutting off the cause of the war. What does Paris? He cannot be brought to comply, [though it be in order] that he may reign safe, and live happy. Nestor

[15] This ridicule will appear in a stronger light by reading a passage of Epictetus, which hath been preserved to us by Arrian. "Can there be a providence," cries an Epicurean, "or could it suffer this continual defluxion to torment me thus?" "Slave as thou art," says Epicurus, "why are you formed with hands? Were they not given you to wipe your nose?" "Yes; but were it not better," answers the disciple, "that there was no such thing as phlegm in the world?" "And is it not better," replies Epicurus, "to wipe your nose, than deny the being of providence?" FRAN.

[16] Lollius, who was consul in the year 736, had two sons, one of whom was the father of the empress Lollia Paulina. Horace writes this epistle to the elder brother, *Maxime Lolli*, and while he directs him in what manner to read Homer, he gives him some excellent precepts to guard him against envy, avarice, debauchery, and anger. ED. DUBL.

labours to compose the differences between Achilles and Agamemnon: love inflames one; rage both in common. The Greeks suffer for what their princes act foolishly.[17] Within the walls of Ilium, and without, enormities are committed by sedition, treachery, injustice, and lust, and rage.

Again, to show what virtue and what wisdom can do, he has propounded Ulysses an instructive pattern: who, having subdued Troy, wisely got an insight into the constitutions and customs of many nations; and, while for himself and his associates he is contriving a return, endured many hardships on the spacious sea, not to be sunk by all the waves of adversity. You are well acquainted with the songs of the Sirens, and Circe's cups: of which, if he had foolishly and greedily drunk along with his attendants, he had been an ignominious and senseless slave under the command of a prostitute: he had lived a filthy dog, or a hog delighting in mire.

We are a mere number, and born to consume the fruits of the earth; like Penelope's suitors, useless drones; like Alcinous' youth, employed above measure in pampering their bodies; whose glory was to sleep till mid-day, and to lull their cares to rest by the sound of the harp. Robbers rise by night, that they may cut men's throats; and will not you awake to save yourself? But, if you will not when you are in health, you will be forced to take exercise when you are in a dropsy; and unless before day you call for a book with a light, unless you brace your mind with study and honest employments, you will be kept awake and tormented with envy or with love. For why do you hasten to remove things that hurt your eyes, but if any thing gnaws your mind, defer the time of curing it from year to year? He has half the deed done, who has made a beginning. Boldly undertake the study of true wisdom: begin it forthwith. He who postpones the hour of living well, like the hind [in the fable], waits till [all the water in] the river be run off: whereas it flows, and will flow, ever rolling on.

Money is sought, and a wife fruitful in bearing children,

[17] The people suffer for the folly of their kings. Thus in the Iliad, the dispute between Agamemnon and Achilles causes the latter to withdraw himself and his forces from taking any active part in the war, and the result is that the Grecians are routed and driven within their entrenchments by the Trojans. M'Caul.

and wild woodlands are reclaimed by the plough. [To what end all this?] He, that has got a competency, let him wish for no more. Not a house and farm, nor a heap of brass and gold, can remove fevers from the body of their sick master, or cares from his mind. The possessor must be well, if he thinks of enjoying the things which he has accumulated. To him that is a slave to desire or to fear, house and estate do just as much good as paintings to a sore-eyed person, fomentations to the gout, music to ears afflicted with collected matter. Unless the vessel be sweet, whatever you pour into it turns sour. Despise pleasures: pleasure bought with pain is hurtful. The covetous man is ever in want: set a certain limit to your wishes. The envious person wastes at the thriving condition of another: Sicilian tyrants[18] never invented a greater torment than envy. He who will not curb his passion, will wish that undone which his grief and resentment suggested, while he violently plies his revenge with unsated rancour. Rage is a short madness. Rule your passion, which commands, if it do not obey; do you restrain it with a bridle, and with fetters. The groom forms the docile horse, while his neck is yet tender, to go the way which his rider directs him: the young hound, from the time that he barked at the deer's skin in the hall, campaigns it in the woods. Now, while you are young,[19] with an untainted mind imbibe instruction: now apply yourself to the best [masters of morality]. A cask will long preserve the flavour, with which when new it was once impregnated. But if you lag behind, or vigorously push on before,[20] I neither wait for the loiterer, nor strive to overtake those that precede me.

[18] Such as Phalaris, Agathocles, and the Dionysii. The saying was almost proverbial. Cf. Cicer. Acc. 5, 66, "Sicilia tulit quondam multos et crudeles tyrannos." ORELLI.

[19] These expressions of *sanus*, *puro pectore*, and *puer*, can be justly applied only to a youth. The younger Lollius went with Augustus to the war of Spain, when he was about sixteen years of age, as we shall find in the eighteenth Epistle, which is addressed to him. SAN.

[20] If you will run the race of wisdom with me, let us run together; for if you either stop, or endeavour to get before me, I shall neither wait for you, nor strive to overtake you. When we enter the lists of virtue, to wait for those behind us is indolence; too earnestly to pursue those before us is envy. TORR. DAC.

## EPISTLE III.

### TO JULIUS FLORUS.[21]

*After inquiring about Claudius Tiberius Nero, and some of his friends, he exhorts Florus to the study of philosophy.*

I LONG to know, Julius Florus, in what regions of the earth Claudius, the step-son of Augustus, is waging war. Do Thrace and Hebrus, bound with icy chains, or the narrow sea running between the neighbouring towers,[22] or Asia's fertile plains and hills detain you? What works is the studious train planning? In this too I am anxious—who takes upon himself to write the military achievements of Augustus?[23] Who diffuses into distant ages his deeds in war and peace? What is Titius about, who shortly will be celebrated by every Roman tongue; who dreaded not to drink of the Pindaric spring, daring to disdain common waters and open streams: how does he do? How mindful is he of me? Does he employ himself to adapt Theban measures to the Latin lyre, under the direction of his muse? Or does he storm and swell[24] in the pompous style of tragic art? What is my Celsus doing? He has been advised, and the advice is still often to be repeated, to acquire stock of his own, and forbear to touch whatever writings the Palatine Apollo has received:

[21] Florus attended Tiberius in his Dalmatian expedition. This prince continued some years visiting and regulating the Eastern provinces, until he had orders to lead his troops into Armenia, while Augustus proposed to march against the Parthians through Syria. Our poet here marks the route of Tiberius through Thrace, the Hellespont, and Asia Minor, and thus makes his epistle a kind of public, historical monument. We may fix the date of this epistle in the year 733. SAN.

[22] *Vicinas inter currentia turres.* Musæus names two cities, Sestos and Abydos, on the opposite shores of Europe and Asia.

[23] *Quid studiosa cohors.* The young gentlemen who attended Tiberius in this expedition, at once to form his court and to guard his person, were men of letters and genius, from whence they are called "studiosa cohors." FRAN.

[24] i. e. use a lofty style, more or less prone to exaggeration. The phrase is derived from the saying of Aristophanes concerning the prologues of Euripides, λῆκύθιον ἀπώλεσε. Ran. 1208. ORELLI.

lest, if it chance that the flock of birds should some time or other come to demand their feathers, he, like the daw stripped of his stolen colours, be exposed to ridicule. What do you yourself undertake? What thyme are you busy hovering about? Your genius is not small, is not uncultivated nor inelegantly rough. Whether you edge your tongue for [pleading] causes,[25] or whether you prepare to give counsel in the civil law, or whether you compose some lovely poem; you will bear off the first prize of the victorious ivy. If now you could quit the cold fomentations of care;[26] whithersoever heavenly wisdom would lead you, you would go. Let us, both small and great, push forward in this work, in this pursuit: if to our country, if to ourselves we would live dear.

You must also write me word of this, whether Munatius is of as much concern to you as he ought to be? Or whether the ill-patched reconciliation in vain closes, and is rent asunder again? But, whether hot blood, or inexperience in things, exasperates you, wild as coursers with unsubdued neck, in whatever place you live, too worthy to break the fraternal bond,[27] a devoted heifer is feeding against your return.

[25] Whether you form your eloquence for the public pleadings at the bar, or give advice and counsel to your clients. *Civica jura respondere paras*, which our poet in another place expresses, "Clientis promere jura." TORR.

[26] The commentator thinks that ambition, riches, power, were those cold remedies that Horace means, which only soothe, not allay the distemper. But, since he has not mentioned what they were, we can only say that Florus could not mistake them, and consequently must have felt the moral which the poet draws from them. ED. DUBL.

[27] *Fraternum rumpere fœdus.* This does not say, as it is generally understood, that they were really brothers, but that they lived in an union such as ought to be preserved between brothers. There was not at this time any person at Rome who bore the name of Julius, except Augustus, whose family was greatly distinguished from that of Munatius; nor does it appear that Munatius ever took the surname of Florus. Mr. Dacier imagines, with reason, that Florus was of some principal family, whom Julius Cæsar permitted to take his name, when he made them citizens of Rome. Tacitus speaks of three Julii in Gallia Belgica in the time of Tiberius, one of whom was called Florus. From whence it is not improbable that the person to whom this letter is written, was of that nation. RODELLIUS. SAN.

## EPISTLE IV.

TO ALBIUS TIBULLUS.

*He declares his accomplishments; and, after proposing the thought of death, converts it into an occasion of pleasantry.*

ALBIUS, thou candid critic of my discourses, what shall I say you are now doing in the country about Pedum? Writing what may excel the works[28] of Cassius Parmensis; or sauntering silently among the healthful groves, concerning yourself about every thing worthy a wise and good man? You were not a body without a mind. The gods have given you a beautiful form, the gods [have given] you wealth, and the faculty of enjoying it.

What greater blessing could a nurse solicit for her beloved child, than that he might be wise, and able to express his sentiments; and that respect, reputation, health might happen to him in abundance, and a decent living, with a never failing purse?

In the midst of hope and care, in the midst of fears and disquietudes, think every day that shines upon you is the last. [Thus] the hour, which shall not be expected, will come upon you an agreeable addition.

When you have a mind to laugh, you shall see me fat and sleek with good keeping, a hog of Epicurus' herd.

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## EPISTLE V.

TO TORQUATUS.

*He invites him to a frugal entertainment, but a cleanly and cheerful one.*

IF you can repose yourself as my guest upon Archias'[29] couches, and are not afraid to make a whole meal on all sorts

[28] *Opuscula.* The term alludes only to his lesser writings, such as elegies, epigrams, &c. Thus Pliny, Epist. viii. 21: "Liber fuit et opusculis varius et metris." The other interpretation arose from the confounding of *Cassius Parmensis* with *Cassius Etruscus.* WHEELER.

[29] Such is the reading of all the manuscripts; "priscorum quantum

of herbs from a moderate dish; I will expect you, Torquatus, at my house about sun-set. You shall drink wine poured into the vessel in the second consulship of Taurus,[30] produced between the fenny Minturnæ and Petrinum of Sinuessa. If you have any thing better, send for it; or bring your commands. Bright shines my hearth, and my furniture is clean for you already. Dismiss airy hopes, and contests about riches, and Moschus'[31] cause. To-morrow, a festal day on account of Cæsar's birth,[32] admits of indulgence and repose. We shall have free liberty to prolong the summer evening with friendly conversation. To what purpose have I fortune, if I may not use it? He that is sparing out of regard to his heir, and too niggardly, is next neighbour to a madman. I will begin to drink and scatter flowers, and I will endure even to be accounted foolish. What does not wine freely drunken enter-

ubique est codicum," says Dr. Bentley; and both the Scholiasts tell us, that Archias was a person who made beds of a lower, shorter kind. Besides, *Archaicis* has the second syllable long; nor is it, indeed, a Latin word. ED. DUBL.

[30] The second consulship of Taurus was in the year 728, so that this wine must be four or five years old. SAN.

[31] The Scholiasts inform us, that Moschus was a rhetorician of Pergamus, whose defence Torquatus undertook when he was accused of poisoning. ED. DUBL.

[32] *Cras nato Cæsare.* Dacier and Masson are here, in Dr. Bentley's language, upon another occasion, at daggers-drawing, *digladiantur*, in defence of Julius Cæsar and Augustus. The latter was born the twenty-third of September, which could not be justly called a summer's night, *æstivam noctem.* The other on the twelfth of July. Two years after his death, the triumvirs ordered that his birth-day should be celebrated by the people crowned with laurel, and that whosoever neglected it should be devoted to the vengeance of Jupiter and the deceased god himself. But, as the Apollinarian games were annually celebrated, and that it was forbidden to mix the festivals of any other god with those of Apollo, Cæsar's birthday was ordered to be solemnized on the 11th. Thus we have not only the year and month, but the very day when this letter was written, the 10th of July. ED. DUBL.

This opinion is at least as old as Porphyrion, who says, "Divi Cæsaris natalem significat." Torrentius thinks Horace means the birth of some young prince, grandson of Augustus, which the words will indeed very well bear. *Nato Cæsare*, for *ob Cæsarem recens natum.* To give this conjecture a kind of certainty, Rodellius and Mr. Sanadon proclaim this festival in honour of Caius Cæsar, eldest son of Agrippa and Julia. But Caius was born in the beginning of September, and the critics probably forgot the circumstance of lengthening the summer night. ED. DUBL. Orelli determines in favour of Augustus.

prise? It discloses secrets; commands our hopes to be ratified; pushes the dastard on to the fight; removes the pressure from troubled minds; teaches the arts. Whom have not plentiful cups made eloquent? Whom have they not [made] free and easy under pinching poverty?

I, who am both the proper person and not unwilling, am charged to take care of these matters; that no dirty covering on the couch, no foul napkin contract your nose into wrinkles; and that the cup and the dish may show you to yourself; that there be no one to carry abroad what is said among faithful friends; that equals may meet and be joined with equals. I will add to you Butra, and Septicius, and Sabinus, unless a better entertainment and a mistress more agreeable detain him. There is room[33] also for many introductions: but goaty ramminess is offensive in over-crowded companies.

Do you write word, what number you would be; and setting aside business, through the back-door give the slip to your client who keeps guard in your court.

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## EPISTLE VI.

### TO NUMICIUS.

*That a wise man is in love with nothing but virtue.*

To admire nothing is almost the one and only thing, Numicius, which can make and keep a man happy. There are who view this sun, and the stars, and the seasons retiring at certain periods, untainted with any fear. What do you think of the gifts of the earth? What of the sea, that enriches the remote Arabians and Indians? What of scenical shows, the applause and favours of the kind Roman? In what manner do you think they are to be looked upon, with what appre-

[33] *Locus est et pluribus umbris.* It was a civility paid to an invited guest among the ancients, to let him know, whatever stranger came with him should be welcome. This was done, says Plutarch, in imitation of those who, sacrificing to some god, sacrificed at the same time to all the gods that inhabited the temple in which he was worshipped, although they did not call any of them by their names. FRAN. For "umbris," cf. Sat. ii. 8, 22.

hensions and countenance? He that dreads the reverse of these, admires them almost in the same way as he that desires them; fear alike disturbs both ways: an unforeseen turn of things equally terrifies each of them: let a man rejoice or grieve, desire or fear; what matters it—if, whatever he perceives better or worse than his expectations, with downcast look he be stupified in mind and body? Let the wise man bear the name of fool, the just of unjust; if he pursue virtue itself beyond proper bounds.

Go now, look with transport upon silver, and antique marble, and brazen statues, and the arts: admire gems, and Tyrian dyes: rejoice, that a thousand eyes are fixed upon you while you speak: industrious repair early to the forum, late to your house, that Mutus may not reap more grain [than you] from his lands gained in dowry, and (unbecoming, since he sprung from meaner parents) that he may not be an object of admiration to you, rather than you to him. Whatever is in the earth, time will bring forth into open day-light; will bury and hide things, that now shine brightest. When Agrippa's portico,[34] and the Appian way, shall have beheld you well known; still it remains for you to go where Numa and Ancus are arrived. If your side or your reins are afflicted with an acute disease, seek a remedy from the disease. Would you live happily? Who would not? If virtue[35] alone can confer this, discarding pleasures, strenuously pursue it. Do you think virtue mere words, as a grove is trees? Be it your care that no other enter the port before you; that you lose not your traffic with Cibyra, with Bithynia. Let the round sum[36] of a thousand talents be completed; as many more; further, let a third thousand succeed, and the part which may square the heap. For why, sovereign money gives a wife with a [large] portion, and credit, and friends, and family,

[34] *Porticus Agrippæ.* It was called the arcade of good luck, *Porticus boni eventûs*, and situated near the Pantheon, at the entrance of the Campus Martius. This Epistle must have been written after the year 729, when the arcade was finished. ED. DUBL.

[35] If riches and honours cannot cure the body, much less can they cure the disorders of the soul. But if you think that religion and virtue are mere creatures of our imagination, then pursue the pleasures of life; give a loose to the passions; and enter into trade, that you may get wealth to support them. FRAN.

[36] *Rotundare* and *quadrare* were terms of the Treasury to signify a complete sum. Cicero says, *quadrare sestertia.* ED. DUBL.

and beauty and [the goddesses], Persuasion and Venus, grace the well-monied man. The king of the Cappadocians,[37] rich in slaves, is in want of coin; be not you like him. Lucullus, as they say, being asked if he could lend a hundred cloaks for the stage,[38] "How can I so many?" said he: "yet I will see, and send as many as I have:" a little after he writes, that he had five thousand cloaks in his house; they might take part of them, or all. It is a scanty house, where there are not many things superfluous, and which escape the owner's notice, and are the gain of pilfering slaves. If then wealth alone can make and keep a man happy, be first in beginning this work, be last in leaving it off. If appearances and popularity make a man fortunate, let us purchase a slave to dictate [to us] the names [of the citizens], to jog us on the left-side, and to make us stretch our hand over obstacles:[39] "This man has much interest in the Fabian, that in the Veline tribe; this will give the fasces to any one, and, indefatigably-active, snatch the curule ivory from whom he pleases; add [the names of] father, brother: according as the age of each is, so courteously adopt him. If he who feasts well, lives well; it is day, let us go whither our appetite leads us: let us fish, let us hunt, as did some time Gargilius: who ordered his toils, hunting-spears, slaves, early in the morning to pass through the crowded forum and the people: that one mule among many, in the sight of the people, might return loaded with a boar purchased with money. Let us bathe with an indigested and full-swollen stomach, forget-

[37] These people were so born for slavery, that when the Romans offered them freedom they refused it, and said, they were not able to support liberty. They were so poor, that in the time of Lucullus an ox was sold for four-pence, and a man for about sixteen-pence. But they loved their slavery and poverty with the same ardour with which others pursue liberty and riches. All things considered, says Mr. Sanadon, they were perhaps more happy. A remark well worthy of a Cappadocian or a Frenchman. FRAN.

[38] These robes were probably wanted for some such entertainment, as we find in the first Epistle of the second Book; though Plutarch tells us, Horace calls them five thousand, that he may enliven his tale by such an exaggeration, for the real number was two hundred.

[39] *Trans pondera dextram porrigere.* The streets of Rome were crowded with coaches and waggons; the Nomenclator, *qui dictet nomina*, directs his master to turn these impediments to his advantage, by making an acquaintance with those who are stopped with him, or by crossing to those who are on the other side of the way. SAN.

ting what is becoming, what not; deserving to be enrolled among the citizens of Cære;[40] like the depraved crew of Ulysses of Ithaca, to whom forbidden pleasure was dearer than their country. If, as Mimnermus[41] thinks, nothing is pleasant without love and mirth, live in love and mirth.

Live: be happy. If you know of any thing preferable to these maxims, candidly communicate it: if not, with me make use of these.

## EPISTLE VII.

### TO MÆCENAS.[42]

*He apologizes to Mæcenas for his long absence from Rome; and acknowledges his favours to him in such a manner, as to declare liberty preferable to all other blessings.*

HAVING promised you that I would be in the country but five days, false to my word, I am absent the whole of August.[43] But, if you would have me live sound and in perfect health, the indulgence which you grant me, Mæcenas, when I am ill, you will grant me [also] when I am afraid of being ill: while [the time of] the first figs, and the [autumnal] heat graces the undertaker with his black attendants; while every father and mother turn pale with fear for their children; and while over-acted diligence,[44] and attendance at the forum, bring on

[40] The Cærites having received the vestal virgins and tutelary gods of Rome when it was sacked by the Gauls, the Romans in gratitude gave them the privileges of citizens. But having engaged in the cause of Tarquin, they were deprived of the right of voting at elections, and a particular roll was made for their names, to which those of other infamous citizens were afterwards added. From thence came a manner of speaking, "dignus Cæritum tabulis: Cærite cerâ digni." TORR.

[41] Mimnermus was an Ionian poet, who lived about six hundred years before the Christian æra. He had a peculiar happiness in descriptions of tenderness, pleasure, and love. His style was easy, rich, and florid. ED. DUBL.

[42] This epistle was probably written in 731, when our author was in his forty-second year. SAN.

[43] *Sextilem.* The Romans began their year at March, from whence the sixth month was called Sextilis, even after January and February were added to the calendar of Romulus. It afterwards took the name of Augustus, "mensis Augustus," as the month before was called "mensis Julius," from Julius Cæsar. ED. DUBL.

[44] *Officiosa sedulitas.* That earnestness and assiduity of making our

fevers and unseal wills.[45] But, if the winter shall scatter snow upon the Alban fields, your poet will go down to the sea-side, and be careful of himself, and read bundled up;[46] you, dear friend, he will revisit with the zephyrs, if you will give him leave, and with the first swallow.

You have made me rich, not in the manner in which the Calabrian host bids [his guest] eat of his pears. "Eat, pray, sir." "I have had enough." "But take away with you what quantity you will." "You are very kind."[47] "You will carry them no disagreeable presents to your little children." "I am as much obliged by your offer, as if I were sent away loaded." "As you please: you leave them to be devoured to-day by the hogs." The prodigal and fool gives away what he despises and hates; the reaping of favours like these has produced, and ever will produce, ungrateful men. A good and wise man professes himself ready to do kindness to the deserving; and yet is not ignorant, how true coins differ from lupines.[48] I will also show myself deserving of the honour of being grateful. But if you would not have me depart any whither, you must restore my vigorous constitution, the black locks [that grew] on my narrow forehead: you must restore

court to the great. *Opella forensis*, the pleadings, and business of the courts. DAC.

[45] *Testamenta resignat.* "Puts us to death;" for wills were never opened until the death of the testator.

[46] *Contractusque leget.* These words have been very differently explained by different commentators. Some think it a metaphorical expression taken from a mariner's furling the sails in a tempest. The poet must then mean, that he will read with less application and earnestness, "et sibi parcet." Others believe, that he would image to us a man chilled with cold, who collects and brings himself into less compass, "frigore duplicatus." Sanadon translates it, "shut up, and warmly clothed," against the severity of the weather. Yet in his notes he thinks *contractus* may signify "contracto in loco; in angusto conclavi," because small apartments are less cold, and consequently more proper for winter. FRAN.

[47] *Bene* and *benignè* were words of politeness and modesty among the Romans, as καλῶς and ἐπαινῶ among the Greeks, when they refused any thing offered to them. DAC.

[48] *Lupina*, a sort of pulse, used for play-house money. Plautus in his Pœnulus, Act iii. scene 2:

AGAM. Agite, inspicite: aurum est. COL. Profectò, spectatores, comicum. Macerato hoc pingues fiunt auro in Barbariâ boves.—*Agam.*

"AGAM. Hold; see; it is gold. COL. Yes, truly, the gold of comedy. This is the gold, with which, when it is well watered, they fatten oxen in Italy." ED. DUBL.

to me the power of talking pleasantly: you must restore to me the art of laughing with becoming ease, and whining over my liquor at the jilting of the wanton Cynara.

A thin field-mouse had by chance crept through a narrow cranny into a chest of grain; and, having feasted itself, in vain attempted to come out again, with its body now stuffed full. To which a weasel at a distance cries, "If you would escape thence, repair lean to the narrow hole which you entered lean." If I be addressed with this similitude, I resign all; neither do I, sated with delicacies, cry up the calm repose of the vulgar, nor would I change my liberty and ease for the riches of the Arabians. You have often commended me for being modest; when present you heard [from me the appellations of] king and father, nor am I a word more sparing in your absence. Try whether I can cheerfully restore what you have given me. Not amiss [answered] Telemachus, son of the patient Ulysses: "The country of Ithaca is not proper for horses, as being neither extended into champaign fields, nor abounding with much grass: Atrides, I will leave behind me your gifts, [which are] more proper for yourself." Small things best suit the small. No longer does imperial Rome please me, but unfrequented Tibur, and unwarlike Tarentum.

Philip, active and strong, and famed for pleading causes, while returning from his employment about the eighth hour, and now of a great age, complaining that the Carinæ were too far distant from the forum; spied, as they say, a person clean shaven in a barber's empty shed, composedly paring his own nails with a knife. "Demetrius," [says he,] (this slave dexterously received his master's orders,) "go inquire, and bring me word from what house, who he is, of what fortune, who is his father, or who is his patron." He goes, returns, and relates, that "he is by name Vulteius Mæna,[49] an auctioneer, of small fortune, of a character perfectly unexceptionable, that he could upon occasion ply busily, and take his ease, and get, and spend; delighting in humble companions

[49] *Vulteium nomine Menam.* By these words Philip might know he was a stranger; that he had been made free, and that his patron's name was Vulteius. Slaves had no surname; but when they were made free, they took the names or surnames of their patrons, to which they added those of their slavery. SAN.

and a settled dwelling, and (after business ended) in the shows, and the Campus Martius."

"I would inquire of him himself all this, which you report; bid him come to sup with me." Mæna cannot believe it: he wonders silently within himself. Why many words? He answers, "It is kind." "Can he deny me?" "The rascal denies, and disregards or dreads you." In the morning Philip comes unawares upon Vulteius, as he is selling brokery-goods to the tunic'd populace, and salutes him first. He pleads to Philip his employment, and the confinement of his business, in excuse for not having waited upon him in the morning; and afterwards, for not seeing him first. "Expect that I will excuse you on this condition, that you sup with me to-day." "As you please." "Then you will come after the ninth hour: now go, strenuously increase your stock." When they were come to supper, having discoursed of things of a public and private nature, at length he is dismissed to go to sleep. When he had often been seen to repair like a fish to the concealed hook, in the morning a client, and now as a constant guest; he is desired to accompany [Philip] to his country-seat near the city, at the proclaiming of the Latin festivals.[50] Mounted on horseback, he ceases not to cry up the Sabine fields and air. Philip sees it, and smiles: and, while he is seeking amusement and diversion for himself out of every thing, while he makes him a present of seven thousand sesterces,[51] and promises to lend him seven thousand more: he persuades him to purchase a farm: he purchases one. That I may not detain you with a long story beyond what is necessary, from a smart cit he becomes a downright rustic, and prates of nothing but furrows and vineyards; prepares his elms; is ready to die with eager diligence, and grows old through a passionate desire of possessing. But when his sheep were lost by theft, his goats by a distemper, his harvest deceived his hopes, his ox was killed with ploughing; fretted with these losses, at midnight he snatches his nag, and in a

[50] *Indictis Latinis.* Philip could go to the country only in the holidays. They were called *indictæ* or *conceptivæ*, because they were not celebrated upon any stated days, which they called *statas*, but appointed at the pleasure of the consul. They were instituted in honour of Jupiter, in memory of a peace concluded between Tarquinius Superbus and the people of Latium. FRAN.

[51] *Dum septem donat sestertia.* About 54*l.* 13*s.* 9*d.* of our money.

passion makes his way to Philip's house. Whom as soon as Philip beheld, rough and unshaven, "Vulteius," said he, "you seem to me to be too laborious and earnest." "In truth, patron," replied he, "you would call me a wretch, if you would apply to me my true name. I beseech and conjure you then, by your genius and your right hand and your household gods, restore me to my former life." As soon as a man perceives, how much the things he has discarded excel those which he pursues, let him return in time, and resume those which he relinquished.

It is a truth, that every one ought to measure himself by his own proper foot and standard.

## EPISTLE VIII.

### TO CELSUS ALBINOVANUS.

*That he was neither well in body, nor in mind; that Celsus should bear his prosperity with moderation.*

My muse at my request, give joy and wish success to Celsus Albinovanus, the attendant and the secretary of Nero. If he shall inquire, what I am doing, say that I, though promising many and fine things, yet live neither well [according to the rules of strict philosophy], nor agreeably[52] not because the hail has crushed my vines, and the heat has nipped my olives; nor because my herds are distempered in distant pastures; but because, less sound in my mind than in my whole body, I will hear nothing, learn nothing which may relieve me, diseased as I am; that I am displeased with my faithful physicians, am angry with my friends for[53] being industrious to rouse me from a fatal lethargy; that I pursue things which have done me hurt, avoid things which I am persuaded would be of service, inconstant as the wind, at Rome am in love with Tibur, at Tibur with Rome. After this, inquire how he does; how he manages his business and himself; how

[52] *Vivere nec rectè nec suaviter.* This distinction is of pure Epicurean morality. *Rectè vivere*, to live according to the rules of virtue; *vivere suaviter*, to have no other guidance for our actions but pleasure and our passions. ED. DUBL.

[53] *Cur me funesto.* The poet uses *cur* for *quòd*, and it is too remarkable to be passed over. ED. DUBL.

he pleases the young prince, and his attendants. If he shall say, well; first congratulate him, then remember to whisper this admonition in his ears: As you, Celsus, bear your fortune, so will we bear you.

## EPISTLE IX.

### TO CLAUDIUS TIBERIUS NERO.[54]

*He recommends Septimius to him.*

Of all the men in the world Septimius surely, O Claudius, knows how much regard you have for me. For when he requests, and by his entreaties in a manner compels me, to undertake to recommend and introduce him to you, as one worthy of the confidence and the household of Nero, who is wont to choose deserving objects, thinking I discharge the office of an intimate friend; he sees and knows better than myself what I can do. I said a great deal, indeed, in order that I might come off excused: but I was afraid, lest I should be suspected to pretend my interest was less than it is, to be a dissembler of my own power, and ready to serve myself alone. So, avoiding the reproach of a greater fault, I have put in for the prize of town-bred confidence.[55] If then you approve of modesty being superseded at the pressing entreaties of a friend,

[54] Among all the duties of civil life, there is not any that requires more discretion and delicacy, than that of recommending a friend, especially to a superior. This letter is a proof of the remark. The poet was compelled to write by a sort of violent importunity, which yet is not inexcusable in Septimius, persuaded as he was of our author's interest with Tiberius. There is through the whole letter a certain happy mixture of that manly zeal, which a friend has a right to demand, and that modest respect due to a great prince. It may be a pleasure to the reader to know, that it had all the success it deserved, for Septimius was afterwards honoured with the confidence and affection both of Tiberius and Augustus. We may date the letter in 732, for Tiberius was sent the year before to visit and regulate the government of the eastern provinces. SAN.

[55] After all the disputed explanations of this expression, I think there is but little difficulty in understanding a "gentlemanly confidence," a freedom from *mauvais honte*, as the quality to which the poet lays claim. The phrase is perhaps slightly ironical.

enrol this person among your retinue, and believe him to be brave and good.

## EPISTLE X.

### TO ARISTIUS FUSCUS.

*He praises a country before a city life, as more agreeable to nature, and more friendly to liberty.*

We, who love the country, salute Fuscus that loves the town; in this point alone [being] much unlike, but in other things almost twins, of brotherly sentiments: whatever one denies, the other too [denies]: we assent together: like old and constant doves, you keep the nest; I praise the rivulets, the rocks overgrown with moss, and the groves of the delightful country. Do you ask why? I live and reign, as soon as I have quitted those things which you extol to the skies with joyful applause. And, like a priest's fugitive slave, I reject luscious wafers;[56] I desire plain bread, which is more agreeable now than honied cakes.

If we must live suitably to nature, and a plot of ground is to be first sought to raise a house upon, do you know any place preferable to the blissful country? Is there any spot where the winters are more temperate? where a more agreeable breeze moderates the rage of the Dog-star, and the season of the Lion, when once that furious sign has received the scorching sun? Is there a place where envious care less disturbs our slumbers? Is the grass inferior in smell or beauty to the Libyan pebbles?[57] Is the water, which strives to burst the lead in the streets, purer than that which trembles in

[56] The priest's slave, who is tired of living on the delicacies offered to his master's god, runs away from his service, that he may get a little common bread: thus our poet would retreat from the false taste and relish of town pleasures to the simple and natural enjoyments of the country. Ed. Dubl.

[57] Than the tesselated or mosaic pavements made of Numidian marble. M. Lepidus was the first who introduced the Numidian marble at Rome, for which he was severely censured. Plin. xxxvi. 6. *Lapilli*, λιθοστρώτα, are the small pieces which were arranged so as to form figures on the pavement, as pebbles, or shells of different colours, are sometimes used at present to form the floor of summer-houses. M'Caul.

murmurs down its sloping channel? Why, trees are nursed along the variegated columns [of the city]; and that house is commended, which has a prospect of distant fields. You may drive out nature with a fork,[58] yet still she will return, and, insensibly victorious, will break through [men's] improper disgusts.

Not he who is unable to compare the fleeces that drink up the dye of Aquinum with the Sidonian purple, will receive a more certain damage and nearer to his marrow, than he who shall not be able to distinguish false from true. He who has been overjoyed by prosperity, will be shocked by a change of circumstances. If you admire any thing [greatly], you will be unwilling to resign it. Avoid great things; under a mean roof one may outstrip kings, and the favourites of kings, in one's life.

The stag, superior in fight, drove the horse from the common pasture, till the latter, worsted in the long contest, implored the aid of man and received the bridle; but after he had parted an exulting conqueror from his enemy, he could not shake the rider from his back, nor the bit from his mouth. So he who, afraid of poverty, forfeits his liberty, more valuable than mines, avaricious wretch, shall carry a master, and shall eternally be a slave, for not knowing how to use a little. When a man's condition does not suit him, it will be as a shoe at any time; which, if too big for his foot, will throw him down; if too little, will pinch him. [If you are] cheerful under your lot, Aristius, you will live wisely; nor shall you let me go uncorrected, if I appear to scrape together more than enough, and not have done. Accumulated money is the master or slave of each owner, and ought rather to follow than to lead the twisted rope.[59]

These I dictated to thee behind the mouldering temple of Vacuna;[60] in all other things happy, except that thou wast not with me.

[58] *Expelles furcâ.* A proverbial expression for removing, putting away, what we dislike or despise, derived from the use of the fork in the farmyard. The Greek expression is, *δικράνοις ὠθεῖν.* Comp. Lucian. Timon., *καὶ μόνονοὐχὶ δικρὰνοις μὲ ἐξεώθει τῆς οἰκίας.* M'CAUL.

[59] *Tortum digna sequi.* A metaphor taken from beasts that are led with a cord. Persius hath used the same figure, "funem reduco." SAN.

[60] Vacuna was the goddess of vacations, whose festival was celebrated in December. There are still some remains of her temple on our poet's

## EPISTLE XI.

### TO BULLATIUS.

*Endeavouring to recall him back to Rome from Asia, whither he had retreated through his weariness of the civil wars, he advises him to ease the disquietude of his mind not by the length of his journey, but by forming his mind into a right disposition.*

WHAT, Bullatius, do you think of Chios, and of celebrated Lesbos?[61] What of neat Samos?[62] What of Sardis, the royal residence of Crœsus? What of Smyrna, and Colophon? Are they greater or less than their fame? Are they all contemptible in comparison of the Campus Martius and the river Tiber? Does one of Attalus' cities enter into your wish? Or do you admire Lebedus, through a surfeit of the sea and of travelling? You know what Lebedus is; it is a more unfrequented town than Gabii and Fidenæ; yet there would I be willing to live; and, forgetful of my friends and forgotten by them, view from land Neptune[63] raging at a distance. But neither he who comes to Rome from Capua, bespattered with rain and mire, would wish to live in an inn; nor does he, who has contracted a cold, cry up stoves and bagnios as completely furnishing a happy life: nor, if the violent south wind has tossed you in the deep, will you therefore sell your ship on the other side of the Ægean[64] Sea. On a man sound in

estate. He dates his letter behind this temple, to insult Aristius with that idleness and liberty which he enjoyed in the country, in opposition to the business and confinement of Rome. TORR.

[61] *Notaque Lesbos.* The island in the Ægean, south of Tenedos. Its principal towns were Mitylene and Methymna. It was *nota*, not so much on account of its excellent wine, as that it was the birth-place of Sappho and Alcæus. ED. DUBL.

[62] *Concinna Samos.* To the south-east of Chios, well known as the favourite island of Juno; and as the birth-place of Pythagoras. The epithet *concinna, neat*, refers, perhaps, to the character of the buildings and appointments of its chief city, which also was called Samos. ED. DUBL.

[63] *Neptunum procul è terrâ.* This image perfectly well represents the condition of Rome and Italy. A sea agitated by tempests, is a natural figure of a state distracted by the dissensions of an intestine war. SAN.

[64] *Ægæum mare.* The Archipelago between Europe and Asia, said by some to derive its name from Ægeus, the father of Theseus, who flung himself into it from the promontory of Sunium, when he saw black sails

mind[65] Rhodes and beautiful Mitylene have such an effect, as a thick cloak at the summer solstice, thin drawers in snowy weather, [bathing in] the Tiber in winter, a fire[66] in the month of August. While it is permitted, and fortune preserves a benign aspect, let absent Samos, and Chios, and Rhodes, be commended by you here at Rome. Whatever prosperous hour Providence bestows upon you, receive it with a thankful hand: and defer not [the enjoyment of] the comforts of life, till a year be at an end; that, in whatever place you are, you may say you have lived with satisfaction. For if reason and discretion, not a place that commands a prospect of the wide-extended sea, remove our cares; they change their climate, not their disposition, who run beyond the sea: a busy idleness harasses us: by ships and by chariots we seek to live happily. What you seek is here [at home], is at Ulubræ, if a just temper of mind is not wanting to you.

## EPISTLE XII.

### TO ICCIUS.

*Under the appearance of praising the man's parsimony, he archly ridicules it; introduces Grosphus to him, and concludes with a few articles of news concerning the Roman affairs.*

O Iccius, if you rightly enjoy the Sicilian products,[67] which you collect[68] for Agrippa, it is not possible that greater affluence can be given you by Jove. Away with complaints! for that man is by no means poor, who has the use of every thing

in the vessel which was returning from Crete. Others give different derivations. Ed. Dubl.

[65] "Incolumi, integro, sanæ mentis homini." Schol.

[66] *Caminus* was a room exposed to the south, and contrived in such a manner as to collect the rays of the sun in winter. It was called *heliocaminus* and *solarium*. Ed. Dubl.

[67] *Fructibus Agrippæ Siculis*. Augustus was obliged to Agrippa for the reduction of Sicily, and gave him, in acknowledgment, an estate there, to which Iccius was agent or farmer. His father had been governor of the island four-and-twenty years before. Ed. Dubl.

[68] *Quos colligis*. This expression and the last line of the letter seem to say that it was harvest time, both in Sicily and Italy, which will more exactly direct us to fix the date of it. San.

he wants. If it is well with your belly, your back, and your feet, regal wealth can add nothing greater. If perchance abstemious amidst profusion you live upon salad and shell-fish,[69] you will continue to live in such a manner, even if[70] presently fortune shall flow upon you in a river of gold: either because money cannot change the natural disposition, or because it is your opinion that all things are inferior to virtue alone. Can we wonder, that cattle feed upon the meadows and corn-fields of Democritus,[71] while his active soul is abroad [travelling] without his body?[72] When you, amidst such great impurity and infection of profit, have no taste for any thing trivial, but still mind [only] sublime things;[73] what causes restrain the sea, what rules the year, whether the stars spontaneously or by direction wander about and are erratic, what throws obscurity on the moon, and what brings out her orb, what is the intention and power of the jarring harmony of things, whether Empedocles or the clever Stertinius be in the wrong?

However, whether you murder fishes, or onions and garlic,

[69] Orelli maintains that the *nettle* is intended, which the Italians, even at the present day, are wont to cook at spring time, while its leaves are tender. Plin. xxi. 15: *Urtica incipiens nasci veré, non ingrata, multis etiam religioso in cibo est ad pellandos totius anni morbos.* The *Urtica Marina* belongs to the genus *Medusa*, and was only served up at the most expensive banquets. *Herbis et Urtica* are joined as *Silvæ et quercus*, Od. i. 12, 1. *Flores mille colorum Liliaque*, Ovid. Met. x. 261. WHEELER.

[70] *Sic vives protenus, ut te. Ut* here signifies *quamvis*, which only can determine the sense. *Protenus* is for *uno eodemque tenore*, in one continued, unbroken length. TORR. See Orelli.

[71] This comparison hath much ironical pleasantry. Democritus was so engaged in his philosophical speculations, that he left his estate a prey to his neighbours. But the severe and frugal life of Iccius rose from very different principles. He denied himself only those pleasures which his avarice would not allow him to purchase. But virtue, says our laughing poet, was a source of real wealth to him, and he wanted only those riches which his Stoical wisdom had taught him to despise. SAN.

[72] The Platonics, explaining the powers of the soul, talk as if they could really, by strength of imagination, separate the soul from the body, and raise it above all earthly ideas. Aristophanes, to ridicule this language, introduces Socrates, telling his disciples that he could never have penetrated into things sublime, but by mixing his most refined ideas with air most like them. He then pleasantly advises them not to restrain their imagination, but to let it soar, like a butterfly, which boys tie to a thread. FRAN.

[73] It was now seventeen years since Iccius had quitted philosophy for the army; but, as his Arabian expedition had not the success it promised, our new soldier returned to his first profession. SAN.

receive Pompeius Grosphus; and, if he asks any favour, grant it him frankly: Grosphus will desire nothing but what is right and just. The proceeds of friendship are cheap, when good men want any thing.

But that you may not be ignorant in what situation the Roman affairs are; the Cantabrians[74] have fallen by the valour of Agrippa, the Armenians by that of Claudius Nero: Phraates has, suppliant on his knees,[75] admitted the laws and power of Cæsar. Golden plenty has poured out the fruits of Italy from a full horn.

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## EPISTLE XIII.

### TO VINNIUS ASINA.

*Horace cautions him to present his poems to Augustus at a proper opportunity, and with due decorum.*

As on your setting out I frequently and fully gave you instructions, Vinnius, that you would present these volumes to Augustus sealed up[76] if he shall be in health, if in spirits, finally, if he shall ask for them: do not offend out of zeal to

[74] *Cantaber.* A nation of Spain, (inhabiting what is now Biscay, and part of Austurias,) distinguished for the spirited opposition which they made to the Romans. In A. U. C. 729 Augustus, in person, headed an expedition to punish them, but no sooner had he left their country than this warlike people reasserted their independence. Horace alludes here (and also Carm. iii. 8, 22, *Cantaber serâ domitus catenâ*) to the chastisement which they received from Agrippa, A. U. C. 734. M'CAUL.

[75] *Genibus minor.* The poet only means that Phraates was reduced to the lowest submissions, to purchase the protection of Augustus against his own subjects. Dacier understands the words literally, and that *Cæsaris* means Tiberius, from whose hand the Parthian monarch received his crown. But is it not astonishing that Velleius Paterculus, always disposed to flatter Tiberius, hath forgotten a circumstance so glorious to him, and that we have not the least marks of it in any other historian? SAN.

[76] Our poet sent Augustus not only the letter addressed to him, (the first of the second Book,) but also the last odes and last epistles he had written. He calls these pieces *volumina*, because they were separately rolled up; and he desires Vinnius to present them sealed, that they might not be exposed to the impertinent curiosity of the court. RODELL.

me, and industriously bring an odium upon my books [by being] an agent of violent officiousness. If haply the heavy load of my paper should gall you,[77] cast it from you, rather than throw down your pack in a rough manner where you are directed to carry it, and turn your paternal name of Asina into a jest, and make yourself a common story. Make use of your vigour over the hills, the rivers, and the fens. As soon as you have achieved your enterprise, and arrived there, you must keep your burden in this position; lest you happen to carry my bundle of books under your arm, as a clown does a lamb, or as drunken Pyrrhia [in the play does] the balls of pilfered wool, or as a tribe-guest[78] his slippers with his fuddling-cap. You must not tell publicly, how you sweated with carrying those verses, which may detain the eyes and ears of Cæsar. Solicited with much entreaty, do your best. Finally, get you gone, farewell; take care you do not stumble, and break my orders.

## EPISTLE XIV.

### TO HIS STEWARD.

*He upbraids his levity for contemning a country life, which had been his choice, and being eager to return to Rome.*

STEWARD of my woodlands and little farm that restores me to myself, which you despise, [though formerly] inhabited by five families, and wont to send five good senators to Varia: let us try, whether I with more fortitude pluck the thorns out of my mind, or you out of my ground: and whether Horace or his estate be in a better condition.

Though my affection and solicitude for Lamia, mourning

[77] Augustus had rallied Horace for the shortness of his epistles, "vereri mihi videris ne majores libelli tui sint quàm ipse es;" you seem afraid that your letters should be longer than you are. The poet therefore sends a number of them together that he might make up in weight what he wanted in length. ED. DUBL.

[78] *Conviva tribulis.* Athenæus tells us, that people of the same tribe had entertainments, called *cœnæ thiasæ*, (probably not unlike our modern clubs,) which were regulated by laws. The guests carried their bonnets, to preserve them from the weather; and slippers to put on when they went into the house of the master of the feast. ED. DUBL.

for his brother, lamenting inconsolably for his brother's loss, detain me; nevertheless my heart and soul [79] carry me thither, and long to break through those barriers that obstruct my way. I pronounce him the happy man who dwells in the country, you him [who lives] in the city. He to whom his neighbour's lot is agreeable, must of consequence dislike his own. Each of us is a fool for unjustly blaming the innocent place. The mind is in fault, which never escapes from itself. When you were a drudge [80] at every one's beck, you tacitly prayed for the country: and now, [being appointed] my steward, you wish for the city, the shows, and the baths. You know I am consistent with myself, and loth to go, whenever disagreeable business drags me to Rome. We are not admirers of the same things: hence you and I disagree. For what you reckon desert and inhospitable wilds, he who is of my way of thinking calls delightful places; and dislikes what you esteem pleasant. The bagnio, I perceive, and the greasy tavern raise your inclination for the city: and this, because my little spot will sooner yield frankincense and pepper than grapes; nor is there a tavern near, which can supply you with wine; nor a minstrel harlot, to whose thrumming you may dance, cumbersome to the ground: and yet you exercise with ploughshares the fallows that have been a long while untouched, you take due care of the ox when unyoked, and give him his fill with leaves stripped [from the boughs]. The sluice gives an additional trouble to an idle fellow, which, if a shower fall, must be taught by many a mound to spare the sunny meadow.

Come now, attend to what hinders our agreeing. [Me,] whom fine garments [81] and dressed locks adorned, whom you

[79] When the Latins use *mens animusque* or *mens animi*, they would express all the faculties of the soul. *Mens* regards the superior and intelligent part, *animus* the sensible and inferior, the source of the passions. DAC.

[80] *Mediastinus* was a slave of the lowest kind, who had no regular service appointed for him, but waited upon other slaves in the vilest employments. Among other directions given by Cato to his son, when he went to the army, "Ille imperator, tu illi ac cæteris Mediastinus." ED. DUBL.

[81] Horace, to render the comparison between himself and his slave more just, draws a picture of the life they passed in their youth at Rome. He confesses, that his own conduct had not been extremely regular, yet that of his slave, who was probably the confidant of his pleasures, had not been more wise. But while the master renounces the follies of his

know to have pleased venal Cynara without a present, whom [you have seen] quaff flowing Falernian from noon—a short supper [now] delights, and a nap upon the green turf by the stream side: nor is it a shame to have been gay, but not to break off that gaiety. There there is no one who reduces[82] my possessions with envious eye, nor poisons them with obscure malice and biting slander; the neighbours smile at me removing clods and stones. You had rather be munching your daily allowance with the slaves in town; you earnestly pray to be of the number of these: [while my] cunning foot-boy envies you the use of the firing, the flocks, and the garden. The lazy ox wishes for the horse's trappings: the horse wishes to go to plough. But I shall be of opinion, that each of them ought contentedly to exercise that art which he understands.

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## EPISTLE XV.

### TO C. NUMONIUS VALA.

*Preparing to go to the baths either at Velia or Salernum, he inquires after the healthfulness and agreeableness of the places.*

It is your part,[83] Vala, to write to me (and mine to give

youth, though without blushing for them, the servant would continue in them as long as he lived. DAC.

[82] *Limat. Limis oculis aspicere aliquem*, to look askew, or askance; but the Latins never used *limare* in that sense. The Scholiast explains the word *limat* by *deterit, imminuit*, for it was a superstition among the ancients, as Dacier observes, that an envious eye could lessen what it looked at, and corrupt our enjoyment of it. ED. DUB. "limat"="quasi lima atterit, attenuare conatur." ORELLI.

[83] *Quæ sit hiems Veliæ*, &c. The arrangement in this Epistle is very intricate. The first twenty-five lines form one strained hyperbaton. The natural order is:

25. Scribere te nobis, tibi nos accedere par est,
Quæ sit hiems Veliæ, quod cœlum, Vala, Salerni;
Quorum hominum regio, et qualis via; ( ——— )
14. Major utrum populum frumenti copia pascat;
Collectosne bibant imbres, puteosne perennes
Jugis aquæ; ( ——— )
22. Tractus uter plures lepores, uter educet apros;
Utra magis pisces et echinos æquora celent,
Pinguis ut inde domum possim Phæaxque reverti. M'CAUL.

credit to your information) what sort of a winter it is at Velia, what the air at Salernum, what kind of inhabitants the country consists of, and how the road is (for Antonius Musa[84] [pronounces] Baiæ to be of no service to me; yet makes me obnoxious to the place, when I am bathed in cold water[85] even in the midst of the frost [by his prescription]. In truth, the village murmurs at their myrtle-groves being deserted, and the sulphureous waters, said to expel lingering disorders from the nerves, despised; envying those invalids, who have the courage to expose their head and breast to the Clusian springs, and retire to Gabii and [such] cold countries. My course must be altered,[86] and my horse driven beyond his accustomed stages. Whither are you going? will the angry rider say, pulling in the left-hand rein,[87] I am not bound for Cumæ or Baiæ:—but the horse's ear is in the bit). [You must inform me likewise,] which of the two people is sup-

[84] Antonius Musa was a freeman of Augustus, and brother of Euphorbus, physician to king Juba. He had the happiness of curing Augustus of a distemper, which his other physicians thought desperate, and this cure raised both the faculty and its professors out of contempt. The prince and people contended in honouring a man, who had restored a life so valuable to the state. He was rewarded with a considerable sum of money; he was exempted from all public taxes; he was made free of Rome, allowed to wear a gold ring, and his statue was placed next to that of Æsculapius. These glorious distinctions were not confined to him alone, but extended to all of the profession, and the disciples of Hippocrates were then first allowed the privileges and immunities of a Roman citizen. The cold bath was now prescribed for all disorders, but the same prescription, which had cured Augustus, having unhappily killed Marcellus, the science of physic, and the people who practised it, fell into their original contempt. After this example, we may believe, that Horace would not be willing to run the same hazard, and therefore we may naturally date this letter in the beginning of 731, six or seven months after the recovery of Augustus, which happened in August. SAN.

[85] This does not suppose that he had already gone into the cold bath, but that he proposed it, and was yet undetermined between that of Salernum and Velia. "Perluor" does not mark a past action, but the present disposition, as if he had said "cùm in eo sum ut perluar." SAN.

[86] *Mutandus locus est.* "We must go no more to Baiæ;" where the poet had frequently been. Sanadon blames this apostrophe; for although a rider naturally enough may sometimes talk to his horse, yet an author can hardly be supposed to sit down to write to him.

[87] At the entrance into Campania the road divides; the right leads to Cuma and Baiæ; the left to Capua, Salernum, and Velia. The horse is going to his usual stage at Baiæ, but Horace turns him to the left, to the Lucanian road. TORR.

ported by the greatest abundance of corn; whether they drink rain-water collected [in reservoirs], or from perennial wells of never-failing water (for as to the wine of that part, I give myself no trouble; at my country-seat I can dispense and bear with any thing: but when I have arrived at a sea-port, I insist upon that which is generous and mellow, such as may drive away my cares, such as may flow into my veins and animal spirits with a rich supply of hope, such as may supply me with words, such as may make me appear young to my Lucanian mistress). Which tract of land produces most hares, which boars: which seas harbour the most fishes and sea-urchins, that I may be able to return home thence in good case, and like a Phæacian.

When Mænius, having bravely made away with his paternal and maternal estates, began to be accounted a merry fellow—a vagabond droll, who had no certain place of living; who, when dinnerless, could not distinguish a fellow-citizen from an enemy; unmerciful in forging any scandal against any person; the pest, and hurricane, and gulf of the market; whatever he could get, he gave to his greedy gut. This fellow, when he had extorted little or nothing from the favourers of his iniquity, or those that dreaded it, would eat up whole dishes of coarse tripe and lamb's entrails; as much as would have sufficed three bears; then truly, [like] reformer Bestius,[88] would he say, that the bellies[89] of extravagant fellows ought to be branded with a red-hot iron. The same man [however], when he had reduced to smoke and ashes[90] whatever more considerable booty he had gotten; 'Faith, said he, I do not wonder if some persons eat up their estates; since nothing is better than a fat thrush, nothing finer than a large sow's paunch. In fact, I am just such another myself; for, when

[88] Cruquius happily entered into the spirit of this passage, when he understood Bestius as a person of different character from that of Mænius. Our commentators have not only mistaken the sense of their author, but substituted Mænius, in direct contradiction to all the manuscripts, in the place of Bestius. *Corrector* hath been luckily preserved in a manuscript extremely ancient, and well agrees with the character of Cornelius Bestius, whom Persius mentions as remarkable for a severity of manners. FRAN.

[89] The Greeks and Romans branded the belly of a gluttonous slave; the feet of a fugitive; the hands of a thief; and the tongue of a babbler. DAC.

[90] *Verterat in fumum ac cinerem.* A proverbial expression, as if smoke and ashes were all the remains of the large estate he had consumed.

matters are a little deficient, I commend the snug and homely fare, of sufficient resolution amidst mean provisions; but, if any thing be offered better and more delicate, I, the same individual, cry out, that ye are wise and alone live well, whose wealth and estate are conspicuous from the elegance of your villas.

## EPISTLE XVI.

### TO QUINCTIUS.[91]

*He describes to Quinctius the form, situation, and advantages of his country-house: then declares that probity consists in the consciousness of good works; liberty, in probity.*

Ask me not, my best Quinctius, whether my farm maintains its master with corn-fields, or enriches[92] him with olives, or with fruits, or meadow-land, or the elm-tree clothed with vines: the shape and situation of my ground shall be described to you at large.

There is a continued range of mountains, except where they are separated by a shadowy vale; but in such a manner, that the approaching sun views it on the right side, and departing in his flying car warms the left. You would commend its temperature. What? If my [very] briers produce in abundance the ruddy cornels and damsens? If my oak and holm-tree accommodate my cattle with plenty of acorns, and their master with a copious shade? You would say that Tarentum, brought nearer [to Rome], shone in its verdant beauty. A fountain too, deserving to give name to a river, insomuch that Hebrus does not surround Thrace more cool or more limpid, flows salubrious to the infirm head, salubrious

[91] We may suppose, that Quinctius had often rallied our poet on the situation, extent, and revenues of his estate. After having satisfied all his questions in very few words, he throws himself into the moral, and touches upon certain points, probably, of much importance to Quinctius; but all is pleasing, interesting, and instructive. The name of Augustus in the twenty-ninth line is a proof, that the letter was written after the year 726. San.

[92] *Opulentet* is purely a country word derived from *ops*, *terra*. It is not easy to say, whether Horace invented the word, but at least he gave it credit, and it was afterwards used by Columella. San.

to the bowels. These sweet, yea now (if you will credit me) these delightful retreats preserve me to you in a state of health [even] in the September season.

You live well, if you take care to support the character which you bear. Long ago, all Rome has proclaimed you happy: but I am apprehensive, lest you should give more credit concerning yourself to any one than yourself; and lest you should imagine a man happy, who differs from the wise and good; or, because the people pronounces you sound and perfectly well, lest you dissemble the lurking fever at meal-times, until a trembling seize your greased hands. The false modesty of fools conceals ulcers, [rather than have them cured]. If any one should mention battles which you had fought by land and sea, and in such expressions as these should soothe your listening ears; "May Jupiter, who consults the safety both of you and of the city, keep it in doubt, whether the people be more solicitous for your welfare, or you for the people's;" you might perceive these encomiums to belong [only] to Augustus: when you suffer yourself to be termed a philosopher, and one of a refined life; say, pr'ythee, would you answer [to these appellations] in your own name? To be sure—I like to be called a wise and good man, as well as you. He who gave this character to-day, if he will, can take it away to-morrow: as the same people, if they have conferred the consulship on an unworthy person, may take it away from him: "Resign; it is ours," they cry: I do resign it accordingly, and chagrined withdraw. Thus if they should call me rogue, deny me to be temperate, assert that I had strangled my own father with a halter; shall I be stung, and change colour at these false reproaches? Whom does false honour delight, or lying calumny terrify, except the vicious and sickly-minded? Who then is a good man? He who observes the decrees of the senate, the laws and rules of justice; by whose arbitration many and important disputes are decided; by whose surety private property, and by whose testimony causes are safe. Yet [perhaps] his own family and all the neighbourhood observe this man, specious in a fair outside, [to be] polluted within. If a slave should say to me, "I have not committed a robbery, nor run away:" "You have your reward; you are not galled with the lash," I reply. "I have not killed any man:" "You shall not [therefore] feed the carrion crows

on the cross." I am a good man, and thrifty:—your Sabine friend denies, and contradicts the fact. For the wary wolf dreads the pitfall, and the hawk the suspected snares, and the kite the concealed hook. The good, [on the contrary,] hate to sin from the love of virtue; you will commit no crime merely for the fear of punishment. Let there be a prospect of escaping, you will confound sacred and profane things together. For, when from a thousand bushels of beans you filch one, the loss in that case to me is less, but not your villany. The honest man, whom every forum and every court of justice looks upon with reverence, whenever he makes an atonement to the gods with a swine or an ox; after he has pronounced in a clear distinguishable voice, "O father Janus, O Apollo;" moves his lips as one afraid of being heard; "O fair Laverna,[93] put it in my power to deceive; grant me the appearance of a just and upright man: throw a cloud of night over my frauds." I do not see how a covetous man can be better, how more free than a slave, when he stoops down for the sake of a penny, stuck in the road [for sport].[94] For he who will be covetous, will also be anxious: but he that lives in a state of anxiety, will never in my estimation be free. He who is always in a hurry, and immersed in the study of augmenting his fortune, has lost the arms, and deserted the post of virtue. Do not kill your captive, if you can sell him: he will serve you advantageously: let him, being inured to drudgery, feed [your cattle], and plough; let him go to sea, and winter in the midst of the waves; let him be of use to the market, and import corn and provisions. A good and wise man[95] will have courage to say, "Pentheus, king of

[93] In a religion where every one made his own gods, it was natural that thieves and robbers, being persecuted upon earth, should seek the assistance of some divinity in heaven. That horror with which they are usually regarded, ought to have extended to the goddess who was their protectress; but as she was also the guardian of those who would not have their designs discovered, she was publicly worshipped, and her votaries were called "Laverniones." TORR. SAN.

[94] Comp. Pers. Sat. v. 5, *Inque luto* fixum *possis transcendere nummum.* The allusion is to a trick of boys placing money on the ground, either fixed so tight that it cannot be removed, or secured by a string, by which they withdraw it when any passenger stoops to take it up. M'CAUL.

[95] A really good man is he, whom the loss of fortune, liberty, and life, cannot deter from doing his duty. The poet, with an unexpected spirit

Thebes, what indignities will you compel me to suffer and endure. 'I will take away your goods:' my cattle, I suppose, my land, my moveables and money: you may take them. 'I will confine you with hand-cuffs and fetters under a merciless gaoler.' The deity himself will discharge me, whenever I please." In my opinion, this is his meaning; I will die.[96] Death[97] is the ultimate boundary[98] of human matters.

## EPISTLE XVII.

TO SCÆVA.

*That a life of business is preferable to a private and inactive one; the friendship of great men is a laudable acquisition, yet their favours are ever to be solicited with modesty and caution.*

THOUGH, Scæva, you have sufficient prudence of your own, and well know how to demean yourself towards your superiors; [yet] hear what are the sentiments of your old crony, who himself still requires teaching, just as if a blind man should undertake to show the way: however see, if even I can advance any thing, which you may think worth your while to adopt as your own.

If pleasant rest, and sleep till seven o'clock, delight you; if dust and the rumbling of wheels, if the tavern offend you; I shall order you off for Ferentinum. For joys are not the property of the rich alone: nor has he lived ill, who at his

and address, brings a god upon the stage under the character of this good man. The whole passage is almost an exact translation of a scene in the Bacchantes of Euripides. FRAN.

[96] This could not be the sense of Bacchus in Euripides, because he would have Pentheus acknowledge him a god, and of consequence immortal. Horace therefore leaves the Grecian poet, and explains the words conformably to his own design of showing that the fear even of death is not capable of shaking the courage of a good man, or obliging him to abandon the cause of virtue. SAN.

[97] This does not mean, as it is generally understood, that death is an end of all things, but of all our misfortunes. *Rerum* for *rerum malarum*, as in Virgil, "fessi rerum, sunt lacrymæ rerum, trepidæ rerum." ED. DUBL.

[98] *Linea*, a trench drawn round the arena, to mark the course for those who entered the lists. TORR. SAN.

birth and at his death has passed unnoticed.[99] If you are disposed to be of service to your friends, and to treat yourself with somewhat more indulgence, you, being poor, must pay your respects to the great.[100] Aristippus, if he could dine to his satisfaction on herbs, would never frequent [the tables] of the great. If he who blames me, [replies Aristippus,] knew how to live with the great, he would scorn his vegetables. Tell me, which maxim and conduct of the two you approve; or, since you are my junior, hear the reason why Aristippus' opinion is preferable; for thus, as they report, he baffled the snarling cynic: "I play the buffoon for my own advantage,[1] you [to please] the populace. This [conduct of mine] is better and far more honourable; that a horse may carry, and a great man feed me, pay court to the great: you beg for refuse, an inferior to the [poor] giver; though you pretend you are in want of nothing."[2] As for Aristippus, every complexion[3] of life, every station and circumstance sat gracefully upon him, aspiring in general to greater things, yet equal to the present: on the other hand, I shall be much surprised, if a contrary way of life should become [this cynic], whom obstinacy clothes with a double rag.[4] The one will not wait for

[99] Cf. Eur. Iph. Aul. 17, ζηλῶ δ' ἀνδρῶν ὃς ἀκίνδυνον βίον ἐξεπέρασ' ἀγνώς, ἀκλεής. ORELLI.

[100] *Accedes siccus ad unctum.* People of easy fortunes never lay down at the table without perfuming themselves with essences; from whence the words *unctus* and *siccus* were used to signify a rich and a poor man. TORR.

[1] Aristippus does not acknowledge he was a buffoon, but makes use of the term to insult Diogenes, and dexterously puts other words of civiler meaning into the place of it, when he speaks of himself—*Officium facio.* My buffoonery, says he, procures me profit and honour: yours leaves you in meanness, indigence, nastiness, and contempt. My dependence is on kings, to whom we are born in subjection: you are a slave to the people, whom a wise man should despise. SAN.

[2] Aristippus pays his court to Dionysius, without making any request: Diogenes asks even the vilest things from the vilest of people. He would excuse himself, by saying he asks only because what he asks is of little value; but, if the person who receives an obligation is inferior, at that time, to the person who bestows it, he is inferior in proportion to the meanness of the favour he receives. DAC.

[3] *Omnis Aristippum decuit color.* Mr. Sanadon understands *color* for *dress* or *habit.* You are the only person, says Plato to Aristippus, who can appear equally well-dressed in a coarse cloth, as in purple.

[4] *Duplici panno.* A Greek poet calls Diogenes,

Ὁ βακτροφόρος, διπλοείματος, αἰθεροβόσκας,

his purple robe; but dressed in any thing, will go through the most frequented places, and without awkwardness support either character: the other will shun the cloak wrought at Miletus with greater aversion than [the bite of] dog or viper: he will die with cold,[5] unless you restore him his ragged garment: restore it, and let him live like a fool as he is. To perform exploits, and show the citizens their foes in chains, reaches the throne of Jupiter, and aims at celestial honours. To have been acceptable to the great, is not the last of praises. It is not every man's lot to gain Corinth.[6] He [prudently] sat still, who was afraid lest he should not succeed: be it so; what then? Was it not bravely done by him, who carried his point? Either here therefore, or no where, is what we are investigating. The one dreads the burden, as too much for a pusillanimous soul and a weak constitution; the other undertakes, and carries it through. Either virtue is an empty name,[7] or the man who makes the experiment deservedly claims the honour and the reward.

*The man who carries a cudgel, wears a double coat, and feeds upon air.* This last expression means a sophist, who, according to Aristophanes, lives upon the clouds. However, Horace probably meant only a double mantle, or one as thick as two; a coarse, heavy coat, in opposition to *purpureum amictum*. Servius explains *duplicem ex humeris rejecit amictum*, in Virgil, in the same manner. ED. DUBL.

[5] Aristippus engaged Diogenes to go with him into the bath, and, coming first out of the water, took the cynic's mantle, and left him his purple robe. But Diogenes declared he would rather go naked out of the bath than put it on. DAC.

[6] Suidas informs us, that the danger and difficulty of going into the ports of Corinth gave rise to a proverb. Horace makes use of it, to show that all people have not talents proper for succeeding in a court, and to raise the glory of those who have courage to attempt and address to conquer the difficulties there. Others apply the proverb to Lais, a famous Corinthian courtezan; but such an application is too light and trivial for the solemnity of these lines, nor is it just to the poet's thought. If money could purchase her favours, it required no great degree of courage to attempt them. SAN.

[7] This is the decision which necessarily results from the proofs. The poet introduces a person, who may be supposed to object that, if it be so difficult to succeed at court, a wise man had better not attempt it. "Sedit, qui timuit." Horace acknowledges the force of this objection, "esto," but draws from it a very different conclusion; that, if there be difficulty or danger, he certainly deserves the highest praise who tries to succeed, "experiens vir;" and, if virtue be any thing more than a chimerical name, he may with justice claim a reward proportionable to his merit, "rectè petit." ED. DUBL.

Those who mention nothing of their poverty before their lord, will gain more than the importunate. There is a great difference between modestly accepting, or seizing by violence. But this was the principle and source of every thing, [which I alleged]. He who says, "My sister is without a portion, my mother poor, and my estate neither saleable nor sufficient for my support," cries out [in effect], "Give me a morsel of bread:" another whines, "And let the platter be carved out for me with half a share of the bounty."[8] But if the crow could have fed in silence, he would have had better fare, and much less of quarrelling and of envy.

A companion taken [by his lord] to Brundusium, or the pleasant Surrentum, who complains of the ruggedness of the roads and the bitter cold and rains, or laments that his chest is broken open and his provisions stolen; resembles the well-known tricks of an harlot, weeping frequently for her necklace, frequently for a garter forcibly taken from her; so that at length no credit is given to her real griefs and losses. Nor does he, who has been once ridiculed in the streets, care to lift up a vagrant[9] with a [pretended] broken leg; though abundant tears should flow from him; though, swearing by holy Osiris,[10] he says, "Believe me, I do not impose upon you; O cruel, take up the lame." "Seek out for a stranger,"[11] cries the hoarse neighbourhood.

[8] This importunate not only teases his patron with perpetual requests, but provokes others to make the same demands. The poet compares them to beggars in the street, and gives the same language, for "quadra" signifies the plate upon which they received their bread at a public distribution. ED. DUBL.

[9] *Planum.* In Greek this signifies a vagabond. Decimus Laberius first Latinized it, and Aulus Gellius blames the boldness of it. But Cicero and Horace refute the censure of the grammarian. BOND.

[10] Osiris was the god of vagabonds, and brother of Isis, whose power of healing distempers was so universally believed, that, as Juvenal expresses it, she maintained the painters by votive pictures to her honour, "Pictores qui nescit ab Iside pasci?" TORR.

[11] This was a trick so frequent among beggars, that it produced a proverb, "Tollat te qui non novit." ED. DUBL.

## EPISTLE XVIII.

### TO LOLLIUS.

*He treats at large upon the cultivation of the favour of great men; and concludes with a few words concerning the acquirement of peace of mind.*

If I rightly know your temper, most ingenuous Lollius, you will beware of imitating a flatterer, while you profess yourself a friend. As a matron is unlike and of a different aspect from a strumpet, so will a true friend differ from the toad-eater. There is an opposite vice to this, rather the greater [of the two]; a clownish, inelegant, and disagreeable bluntness, which would recommend itself by an unshaven face and black teeth; while it desires to be termed pure freedom and true sincerity. Virtue is the medium of the two vices; and equally remote from either. The one is over-prone to complaisance, and a jester of the lowest couch,[12] he so reverences the rich man's nod, so repeats his speeches, and catches up his falling words; that you would take him for a school-boy saying his lesson to a rigid master, or a player acting an under-part: another often wrangles about a goat's hair, and armed engages[13] for any trifle: "That I, truly, should not have the first credit; and that I should not boldly speak aloud, what is my real sentiment—[upon such terms,] another life would be of no value." But what is the subject of this controversy? Why, whether [the gladiator] Castor or Dolichos be the cleverer fellow; whether the Minucian,[14] or the Appian, be the better road to Brundusium?

[12] *Imi derisor lecti*, i. e. a buffoon, who is invited to an entertainment for the amusement of the host and his guests, that never has an opinion of his own, but merely supports the sentiments of others, and serves as an auxiliary to his host, when he fails in conversation. *Imi—lecti* refers to the place where such persons were stationed; scil. on the lowest couch. Hence in Sat. ii. 8, 40, Nomentanus and Porcius, Nasidienus' jesters, are termed "imi lecti conviviæ." M'Caul.

[13] But, says Torrentius, "they who divide the word *propugnat*, to construe it *pugnat pro nugis*, lose the beauty of the passage: *nugis armatus*, armed with trifles and nonsense." So also Orelli.

[14] There were two roads to Rome from Brundusium, the Appian, which went along the Tuscan Sea; and the Minucian, which crossed over the country of the Sabines and Samnites, joining the Appian road at Bene-

Him whom pernicious lust, whom quick-despatching dice strips, whom vanity dresses out and perfumes beyond his abilities, whom insatiable hunger and thirst after money, whom a shame and aversion to poverty possess, his rich friend (though furnished with a half-score more vices) hates and abhors; or if he does not hate, governs him; and, like a pious mother, would have him more wise and virtuous than himself; and says what is nearly true: "My riches (think not to emulate me) admit of extravagance; your income is but small: a scanty gown becomes a prudent dependant: cease to vie with me." Whomsoever Eutrapelus had a mind to punish, he presented with costly garments. For now [said he] happy in his fine clothes, he will assume new schemes and hopes; he will sleep till daylight; prefer a harlot to his honest calling; run into debt; and at last become a gladiator, or drive a gardener's hack for hire.

Do not you at any time pry into his secrets; and keep close what is intrusted to you, though put to the torture, by wine or passion. Neither commend your own inclinations, nor find fault with those of others; nor, when he is disposed to hunt, do you make verses. For by such means the amity of the twins, Zethus and Amphion, broke off; till the lyre, disliked by the austere brother, was silent. Amphion is thought to have given way to his brother's humours; so do you yield to the gentle dictates of your friend in power: as often as he leads forth his dogs into the fields and his cattle laden with Ætolian nets, arise and lay aside the peevishness of your unmannerly muse,[15] that you may sup together on the delicious fare purchased by your labour; an exercise habitual to the manly Romans, of service to their fame and life and limbs: especially when you are in health, and are able either to excel the dog in swiftness, or the boar in strength. Add [to this], that there is no one who handles martial weapons more gracefully. You well know, with what acclamations of the spectators you sustain the combats in the Campus Martius: in fine,

ventum. This last had its name from the consul, Tiberius Minucius, who made it in 448, seven years after that of Appius. SAN.

[15] *Senium depone Camœnæ.* The muse is here called *inhumanæ*, from the peevishness of poets when they are interrupted in their poetical studies; or because they generally love solitude and retirement from company. TORR.

as yet a boy,[16] you endured a bloody campaign and the Cantabrian wars, beneath a commander, who is now replacing the standards [recovered] from the Parthian temples:[17] and, if any thing is wanting,[18] assigns it to the Roman arms. And that you may not withdraw yourself, and inexcusably be absent; though you are careful to do nothing out of measure and moderation, yet you sometimes amuse yourself at your country-seat. The [mock] fleet divides the little boats [into two squadrons]: the Actian sea-fight[19] is represented by boys under your direction in a hostile form: your brother is the foe, your lake the Adriatic; till rapid victory crowns the one or the other with her bays. Your patron, who will perceive that you come into his taste, will applaud your sports with both his hands.[20]

Moreover, that I may advise you, (if in aught you stand in need of an adviser,) take great circumspection what you say to any man, and to whom. Avoid an inquisitive impertinent, for such a one is also a tattler, nor do open ears faithfully

[16] Lollius, to whom Horace writes, was with Augustus in his expedition against the Cantabrians, when he was very young, *puer*. But Augustus departed from Rome in 727, when Lollius, the father, had been some years in Galatia, where he was governor after the death of Amyntas, whose kingdom became a province of the Roman empire. He returned to Rome in 732, and entered upon his consulship in the beginning of the year following. It is, therefore, impossible that he could have been with Augustus in the war of Spain, and consequently this letter could not have been written to him. CARDINAL NORRIS.

[17] All our commentators agree, that *refigit* is in almost all the manuscripts. It is of more than ordinary value, because it determines the precise date of this Epistle in 734, when Phraates restored the Roman eagles to Augustus. Horace was then forty-five years of age.

[18] *Nunc et si quid abest. Nunc* must be construed with *refigit*, as appears by the best copies; "sic enim distinguunt potiora exemplaria." BENT.

[19] This little sea-fight is well introduced by our poet, and does much honour to Lollius. Augustus, in memory of the battle of Actium, instituted a tournament, under the name of Actian games, which were annually celebrated every 1st of August. Sanadon thinks it probable, that this naval engagement of Lollius gave the Romans a first idea of those naumachia, with which they were afterwards entertained by their emperors. FRAN.

[20] A metaphorical manner of speaking, taken from the *arena*. When a gladiator was thrown in fighting, the people asked his life by turning down their thumbs, or his death by lifting them up. "Cùm faveamus pollices premere etiam proverbio jubemur." PLIN. TORR.

retain what is intrusted to them; and a word, once sent abroad, flies irrevocably.

Let no slave within the marble threshold of your honoured friend inflame your heart; lest the owner of the beloved damsel gratify you with so trifling a present, or, mortifying [to your wishes], torment you [with a refusal].

Look over and over again [into the merits of] such a one, as you recommend; lest afterwards the faults of others strike you with shame. We are sometimes imposed upon, and now and then introduce an unworthy person. Wherefore, once deceived, forbear to defend one who suffers by his own bad conduct; but protect one whom you entirely know, and with confidence guard him with your patronage, if false accusations attack him: who being bitten with the tooth[21] of calumny, do you not perceive that the same danger is threatening you? For it is your own concern, when the adjoining wall is on fire: and flames neglected are wont to gain strength.

The attending of the levee of a friend in power seems delightful to the unexperienced; the experienced dreads it. Do you, while your vessel is in the main, ply your business, lest a changing gale bear you back again.

The melancholy hate the merry, and the jocose the melancholy; the volatile [dislike] the sedate, the indolent the stirring and vivacious: the quaffers of pure Falernian from midnight hate one who shirks his turn; notwithstanding you swear you are afraid of the fumes of wine by night. Dispel gloominess from your forehead: the modest man generally carries the look of a sullen one; the reserved, of a churl.

In every thing you must read and consult the learned, by what means you may be enabled to pass your life in an agreeable manner: that insatiable desire may not agitate and torment you, nor the fear and hope of things that are but of little account: whether learning acquires virtue, or nature bestows it? What lessens cares, what may endear you to yourself? What perfectly renders the temper calm; honour, or enticing lucre, or a secret passage and the path of an unnoticed life?

For my part, as often as the cooling rivulet Digentia re-

[21] *Dente Theonino.* Theon was a Grecian poet, so remarkable for the severity and acrimony of his writings, that his name gave rise to a proverb, *dens Theoninus.* DAC.

freshes me (Digentia, of which Mandela drinks, a village wrinkled with cold); what, my friend, do you think are my sentiments, what do you imagine I pray for? Why, that my fortune may remain as it is now; or even [if it be something] less: and that I may live to myself, what remains of my time, if the gods will that aught do remain: that I may have a good store of books, and corn provided for the year; lest I fluctuate in suspense of each uncertain hour. But it is sufficient to sue to Jove [for these externals], which he gives and takes away [at pleasure]; let him grant life, let him grant wealth: I myself will provide equanimity of temper.

## EPISTLE XIX.

### TO MÆCENAS.

*He shows the folly of some persons, who would imitate; and the envy of others, who would censure him.*

O LEARNED Mæcenas,[22] if you believe old Cratinus,[23] no verses which are written by water-drinkers can please, or be long-lived. Ever since Bacchus enlisted the brain-sick poets among the Satyrs and the Fauns, the sweet muses have usually smelt of wine in the morning. Homer, by his excessive praises of wine, is convicted as a booser: father Ennius himself never sallied forth to sing of arms, unless in drink. "I will condemn the sober to the bar and the prætor's bench,[24] and deprive the abstemious of the power of singing."

As soon as he gave out this edict, the poets did not cease to contend in midnight cups, and to smell of them by day.

[22] *Docte Mæcenas.* This is not an expression of flattery, for Mæcenas had not only very considerable abilities for the field and the council, but was really a man of learning. ED. DUBL.

[23] Cratinus loved wine to such an excess, that Aristophanes tells us he died with grief at seeing a hogshead broken and the wine running out. ED. DUBL.

[24] *Forum putealque Libonis.* Torrentius first perceived that these words could not be spoken either by Cratinus or Ennius, who were both dead long before Libo was born; nor by Bacchus, who surely would not have waited so long to publish a decree, which the usages of so many poets had already established; nor by Mæcenas, unless we read *edixti* and *palleres*, contrary to all the manuscripts. ED. DUBL.

What! If any savage, by a stern countenance and bare feet, and the texture of a scanty gown, should imitate Cato; will he represent the virtue and morals of Cato? The tongue that imitated Timagenes was the destruction of the Moor,[25] while he affected to be humorous, and attempted to seem eloquent. The example that is imitable in its faults, deceives [the ignorant]. Soh! if I was to grow pale by accident, [these poetasters] would drink the blood-thinning cumin.[26] O ye imitators, ye servile herd, how often your bustlings have stirred my bile, how often my mirth!

I was the original, who set my free footsteps upon the vacant sod; I trod not in the steps of others. He who depends upon himself, as leader, commands the swarm. I first showed to Italy the Parian iambics: following the numbers and spirit of Archilochus,[27] but not his subject and style, which afflicted Lycambes. You must not, however, crown me with a more sparing wreath, because I was afraid to alter the measure and structure of his verse: for the manly Sappho governs her muse[28] by the measures of Archilochus, so does

[25] Iarbita, says the Scholiast, was a Moor, whose name was Cordus, who attempting in vain to imitate the wit and pleasantry of Timagenes, almost burst with despair and vexation, *invidiâ quodammodo ruptus est.* Timagenes was a rhetorician of Alexandria, who, having provoked Augustus by too great a freedom of raillery, was forbidden to enter the palace. In resentment of such an affront he burned a history which he had written of that emperor's life. FRAN.

[26] Dioscorides assures us, that cumin will make people pale who drink it, or wash themselves with it. Pliny says it was reported, that the disciples of Porcius Latro, a famous master of the art of speaking, used it to imitate that paleness which he had contracted by his studies. FRAN.

[27] Horace tells us he had imitated Archilochus in taking from him some particular measure, and if we may judge from the fragments of the Grecian poet which remain to us, these three following verses are some of them.

"Pulvis et umbra sumus."
"Exitio est avidum mare nautis."
"Vitæ summa brevis spem nos vetat inchoare longam."

Canidia, Cassius Severus, and some others, must acknowledge that Horace had but too well imitated the satire and severity of Archilochus, although he did not servilely follow his expressions, or allow himself that bitterness which made Lycambes and his daughter Neobule hang themselves. SAN.

[28] *Sappho et Alcæus Musam suam temperant pede Archilochi;* and *temperat* signifies, "to mix," not, as is generally understood, "to soften," or "make musical," for the verses of Archilochus were more violent and

Alcæus; but differing from him in the materials and disposition [of his lines], neither does he seek for a father-in-law whom he may defame with his fatal lampoons, nor does he tie a rope for his betrothed spouse in scandalous verse. Him[29] too, never celebrated by any other tongue, I the Roman lyrist first made known. It delights me, as I bring out new productions, to be perused by the eyes, and held in the hands, of the ingenuous.

Would you know why the ungrateful reader extols and is fond of my works at home, unjustly decries them without doors? I hunt not after the applause of the inconstant vulgar, at the expense of entertainments, and for the bribe of a worn-out coat: I am not an auditor of noble writers, nor a vindictive reciter, nor condescend to court[30] the tribes and desks of the grammarians. Hence are these tears. If I say that "I am ashamed to repeat my worthless writings to crowded theatres, and give an air of consequence to trifles:" "You ridicule us," says [one of them], "and you reserve those pieces for the ears of Jove: you are confident that it is you alone who can distil the poetic honey, beautiful in your own eyes." At these words I am afraid to turn up my nose; and lest I should be torn by the acute nails of my adversary, "This place is disagreeable," I cry out, "and I demand a

less harmonious than those of Alcæus or Sappho. They took from him several sorts of verse for their odes, and Horace, by their example, hath taken from each of them whatever might enrich his Latin Lyric poetry. SAN.

[29] Horace can only mean Alcæus. He hath already said he was the first Roman who had imitated in Latin the iambics of Archilochus, and it were ridiculous to repeat it within eight or nine verses. When he says, "Latinus fidicen," he not only marks his being a Lyric poet himself, but that the writer whom he had imitated was so likewise, which cannot be said of Archilochus, who was never reckoned in their number. This reason will be more sensible, if we examine the different expressions of Horace with attention. He tells us that he was the first Roman Lyric poet who had imitated Alcæus, "hunc ego, non alio dictum priùs ore, Latinus fidicen;" and ten verses before this he says he was the first who showed the iambics of Archilochus to the Latins, "Parios ego primus iambos ostendi Latio." It is remarkable, that although Horace did not imitate Sappho less than Archilochus and Alcæus, yet he does not say he was the first of the Romans, because Catullus and some other Latin poets had written Sapphic verses before him. BENT.

[30] Horace laughs at the meanness of a bad poet who pays his court to school-masters, that they may give his works a little reputation by making their scholars read them. TORR.

prorogation[31] of the contest." For contest is wont to beget trembling emulation and strife, and strife cruel enmities and funereal war.

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## EPISTLE XX.[32]

### TO HIS BOOK.

*In vain he endeavours to restrain his book, desirous of getting abroad; tells it what trouble it is to undergo, and imparts some things to be said of him to posterity.*

You seem, my book, to look wistfully at Janus and Vertumnus;[33] to the end that you may be set out for sale, neatly polished by the pumice-stone of the Sosii.[34] You hate keys and seals, which are agreeable to a modest [volume]; you grieve that you are shown but to a few, and extol public places; though educated in another manner. Away with you, whither you are so solicitous of going down:[35] there will be no returning for you, when you are once sent out. "Wretch that I am, what have I done? What did I want?"—you will say: when any one gives you ill treatment, and you know

[31] *Diludia posco.* The Latins used *deludere, to leave off playing.* From thence came *diludia,* to signify a space of time and intermission of fighting given to the gladiators during the public games. Horace therefore pleasantly begs he may have time allowed him to correct his verses, before he mounts the stage and plays for the prize in public. FRAN.

[32] In 733, Horace published a collection of his Epistles and Satires, and probably placed this Epistle at the head of them, from whence Sanadon places it as a preface to his moral poetry. Under an allegory of a child, unwillingly confined in his father's house, and wishing for liberty, the poet gives his book some critical advice, which may be of much importance to authors in general. The character he draws of himself is natural, and nothing is disguised by modesty or vanity. FRAN.

[33] *Vertumnum Janumque.* Vertumnus, according to the Scholiast, was the god who presided over buying and selling, from whence he had a statue and temple in the forum.

[34] The Sosii were a plebeian family, well known in Rome, two brothers of which distinguished themselves by the correctness of their books and the beauty of the binding. COMMENT.

[35] The forum was situated between the hills on which Rome was built, from whence we frequently find *in forum descendere* in Cicero and Seneca. The present reading is of all the manuscripts. BENT. CUN. SAN.

that you will be squeezed into small compass,[36] as soon as the eager reader is satiated.[37] But, if the augur be not prejudiced by resentment of your error, you shall be caressed at Rome [only] till your youth be passed.[38] When, thumbed by the hands of the vulgar, you begin to grow dirty; either you shall in silence feed the grovelling book-worms, or you shall make your escape to Utica, or shall be sent bound to Ilerda. Your disregarded adviser shall then laugh [at you]: as he, who in a passion pushed his refractory ass over the precipice. For who would save [an ass] against his will? This too awaits you, that faltering dotage shall seize on you, to teach boys their rudiments in the skirts of the city.[39] But when the abating warmth of the sun[40] shall attract more ears, you shall tell them, that I was the son of a freedman, and extended my wings beyond my nest; so that, as much as you take away from my family,[41] you may add to my merit: that I was in favour with the first men in the state, both in war and peace; of a short stature, grey before my time, calculated for

[36] *In breve te cogi. In arctum volumen contrahi.* The poet threatens his book, that it shall be rolled up as if condemned never to be read again. The books of the ancients were written on skins of parchment, which they were obliged to unfold and extend when they designed to read. TORR.

[37] The lover here signifies a passionate reader; he seizes a book with rapture; runs it over in haste; his curiosity begins to be satisfied; his appetite is cloyed; he throws it away, and never opens it again. FRAN.

[38] Novelty is a kind of youth, which gives to every thing a certain grace and value. Few books have a privilege of not growing old. In general, their youth is extremely short, and scarce divided from their age. SAN.

[39] There were schools in the most frequented parts of the city, where professors of abilities and reputation explained the best Greek and Latin authors. Children were taught to read in the suburbs, whither Horace presages his book should be banished in its old age. This prediction should be considered as a modest pleasantry, for our poet knew too well the value of his works to be afraid of such a destiny. TORR. SAN.

[40] *Sol tepidus.* M. Dacier and the rest of the commentators understand the middle of the day, when the sun is most violent; but this was a time when people usually retired into their houses to avoid the heat. *Sol tepidus* may therefore mean the mildness and moderate warmth of evening, when men of letters assembled, either in the public walks or shops of booksellers, to read any works lately published. SAN.

[41] Nature made Horace the son of a public crier, but his own merit made him the companion of an emperor, and gained him the friendship of the greatest, as well as most ingenious men of the Augustan age. FRAN.

sustaining heat,[42] prone to passion, yet so as to be soon appeased. If any one should chance to inquire my age; let him know that I had completed four times eleven Decembers, in the year in which Lollius admitted Lepidus[43] as his colleague.

[42] We may remark, in many places of his works, that our poet was very sensible to cold: that in winter he went to the sea-coast, and that he was particularly fond of Tarentum in that season, because it was milder there. We may likewise understand the words of his exercises in the Campus Martius, as in his Odes *patiens pulveris atque solis*, but the former sense is more natural. SAN.

[43] Augustus being in the year 733 in Sicily, the senate made him an offer of the consulship, which he refused. This refusal and his absence occasioned a very strongly disputed election between Lepidus and Silanus, who pretended to fill his place. Augustus sent for them into Sicily, and forbade them to return to Rome until the election was ended. By this means Lollius, who had been appointed colleague with Augustus, easily carried the votes in favour of Lepidus, which Horace means by the word *duxit*. Our poet was born on the 8th of December, 689, and consequently his forty-fourth year ended 733. SAN.

THE SECOND BOOK

OF THE

# EPISTLES OF HORACE.

## EPISTLE I.

TO AUGUSTUS.[1]

*He honours him with the highest compliments; then treats copiously of poetry, its origin, character, and excellence.*

SINCE you alone support so many and such weighty concerns, defend Italy with your arms, adorn it by your virtues, reform

[1] Augustus had written to Horace to reproach him for not having addressed any part of his works to him. Know, says he, that I am angry with you; or are you apprehensive it shall injure your reputation with posterity, that you have been one of my friends? These reproaches, probably, occasioned this Epistle, which is justly ranked among the best performances of our author, and not unworthy of a prince of superior genius, delicate taste, and more than common erudition. It may be divided into four parts. In the first, the poet examines the comparison between ancients and moderns, which hath been a matter of dispute in almost all ages. He then shows, that novelty is the mother of all polite arts, especially of poetry, that divine art, which deserves the greatest praises and greatest rewards. In the third part he treats of the theatre, and the difficulty of succeeding there. In the last, he would inform princes how much they are interested to animate an emulation among Epic and Lyric poets, who have it in their power to make them immortal. These different parts are enlivened by a continual criticism upon the manner in which the Romans judged of poets, and by many reflections, equally useful and agreeable, upon the origin and progress of poetry.

The date of this Epistle is determined by so many facts, and so strongly marked, that it is unaccountable how it hath been mistaken. It mentions the divine honours paid to Augustus in 726: the sovereign authority which he received from the senate in 727: the reduction of the Parthians in 734: the laws which he made for the reformation of manners in 737: the conquests of Tiberius and Drusus in 739, 742, 743, and shutting the temple of Janus in 744, when this letter was written, and when Horace was in his fifty-second year, about two years before his death. FRAN.

it by your laws; I should offend, O Cæsar, against the public interests, if I were to trespass upon your time with a long discourse.[2]

Romulus, and father Bacchus, and Castor and Pollux, after great achievements, received into the temples of the gods, while they were improving the world and human nature, composing fierce dissensions, settling property, building cities, lamented that the esteem which they expected was not paid in proportion to their merits. He who crushed the dire Hydra, and subdued the renowned monsters by his forefated labour, found envy was to be tamed by death [alone]. For he burns by his very splendour, whose superiority is oppressive to the arts beneath him:[3] after his decease, he shall be had in hon-

[2] The poet is thought to begin with apologizing for the *shortness of this Epistle*. And yet it is one of the longest he ever wrote. How is this inconsistency to be reconciled? The case, I believe, was this. The genius of epistolary writing demands, that the subject-matter be not abruptly delivered, or hastily obtruded on the person addressed; but, as the law of decorum prescribes, (for the rule holds in *writing*, as in *conversation*,) be gradually and respectfully introduced to him. This obtains more particularly in applications to the great, and on important subjects. But now the poet, being to address his prince on a point of no small delicacy, and on which he foresaw he should have occasion to hold him pretty long, prudently contrives to get as soon as possible into his subject; and, to that end, hath the art to convert the very transgression of this rule into the justest and most beautiful compliment.

That cautious preparation, which is ordinarily requisite in our approaches to greatness, had been, the poet observes, in the present case, highly unseasonable, as the business and interests of the empire must, in the mean time, have stood still and been suspended. By *sermone*, then, we are to understand, not the body of the Epistle, but the proem or introduction only. The body, as of public concern, might be allowed to engage, at full length, the emperor's attention; but the introduction, consisting of ceremonial only, the common good required him to shorten as much as possible. It was no time for using an insignificant preamble, or, in our English phrase, of making long speeches. This reason, too, is founded, not merely in the elevated rank of the emperor, but in the peculiar diligence and solicitude with which, history tells us, he endeavoured to promote, by various ways, the interests of his country. So that the compliment is as just as it is polite. It may be further observed, that *sermo* is used in Horace to signify the ordinary style of conversation, (see 1 Sat. 3, 65, and 4, 42,) and therefore not improperly denotes the familiarity of the epistolary address, which, in its easy expression, so nearly approaches to it. HURD.

[3] I have partly followed Anthon, but the variety of interpretations in this passage is most perplexing. See M'Caul's notes.

our. On you, while present[4] amongst us, we confer mature honours, and rear altars where your name is to be sworn by; confessing that nothing equal to you has hitherto risen, or will hereafter rise. But this your people, wise and just in one point, (for preferring you to our own, you to the Grecian heroes,) by no means estimate other things with like proportion and measure: and disdain and detest every thing, but what they see removed from earth and already gone by; such favourers are they of antiquity, as to assert that the Muses [themselves] upon Mount Alba dictated the twelve tables, forbidding to transgress,[5] which the decemviri ratified; the leagues of our kings concluded with the Gabii, or the rigid Sabines; the records of the pontifices, and the ancient volumes of the augurs.

If, because the most ancient writings of the Greeks are also the best,[6] Roman authors are to be weighed in the same scale,

[4] We are not to wonder at this and the like extravagances of adulation in the Augustan poets. They had ample authority for what they did of this sort. We know that altars were decreed and erected to the emperor by the command of the senate, and that he was publicly invoked, as an established tutelary divinity. But the seeds of the corruption had been sown much earlier. For we find it sprung up, or rather (as of all the ill weeds, which the teeming soil of human depravity throws forth, none is more thriving and grows faster than this of flattery) flourishing at its height, in the tyranny of J. Cæsar. Balbus, in a letter to Cicero (Ep. ad Att. 1, ix.) "swears by the health and safety of Cæsar:" "ita, incolumi Cæsare, moriar." And Dio tells us (L. xliv.) that it was, by the express injunction of the senate, decreed, even in Cæsar's life-time, that the Romans should bind themselves by this oath. The senate also (as we learn from the same writer, L. xliii.) upon the receiving the news of his defeat of Pompey's sons, caused his statue to be set up, in the temple of Romulus, with this inscription, DEO INVICTO. HURD.

[5] The laws of the twelve tables, which Horace here means, might not want elegance of expression, with regard to the time when they were written. The treaty of peace between Tarquinius Superbus and the Gabii was recorded on a bull's hide stretched upon a piece of wood called *Clypeum*, and we may believe the style was answerable to the paper. The Sibylline books, which regulated all the ceremonies of religion; and the works of poets in the first infancy of the Latin tongue, might have been venerable for their antiquity, but could not be models of good writing. FRAN.

[6] The common interpretation of this place supposes the poet to admit the most ancient of the Greek writings to be the best—which were even contrary to all experience and common sense, and is directly confuted by the history of the Greek learning. What he allows is, the superiority of the oldest Greek writings extant, which is a very different thing. The

there is no need we should say much: there is nothing hard in the inside of an olive, nothing [hard] in the outside of a nut. We are arrived at the highest pitch of success [in arts]: we paint, and sing, and wrestle more skilfully than the anointed[7] Greeks. If length of time makes poems better, as it does wine, I would fain know how many years will stamp a value upon writings. A writer who died a hundred years ago, is he to be reckoned among the perfect and ancient, or among the mean and modern authors? Let some fixed period exclude all dispute. He is an old and good writer who completes a hundred years. What! one that died a month or a year later, among whom is he to be ranked? Among the old

turn of his argument confines us to this sense. For he would show the folly of concluding the same of the old Roman writers, on their first rude attempts to copy the finished models of Greece, as of the old Greek writers themselves, who were furnished with the means of producing those models by long discipline and cultivation. This appears, certainly, from what follows:

"Venimus ad summum fortunæ: pingimus atque
Psallimus et luctamur Achivis doctiùs unctis.

The design of which hath been entirely overlooked; for it hath been taken only for a general expression of falsehood and absurdity, of just the same import as the proverbial line,

"Nil intra est oleam, nil extra est in nuce duri."

Whereas it was designedly pitched upon to convey a particular illustration of the very absurdity in question, and to show the maintainers of it, from the nature of things, how senseless their position was. It is to this purpose: "As well may it be pretended that we Romans surpass the Greeks in the arts of painting, music, and the exercises of the palæstra, which yet it is confessed we do not, as that our old writers surpass the modern. The absurdity, in either case, is the same. For, as the Greeks, who had long devoted themselves, with great and continued application, to the practice of these arts, (which is the force of the epithet *uncti*, here given them,) must for that reason carry the prize from the Romans, who have taken very little pains about them; so, the modern Romans, who have for a long time been studying the arts of poetry and composition, must needs excel the old Roman writers, who had little or no acquaintance with those arts, and had been trained by no previous discipline to the exercise of them." HURD.

[7] *Unctis*. This is by no means a general, unmeaning epithet; but is beautifully chosen to express the unwearied assiduity of the Greek artists. For the practice of anointing being essential to their agonistic trials, the poet elegantly puts the attending circumstance for the thing itself. And so, in speaking of them as *uncti*, he does the same as if he had called them "the industrious, or exercising Greeks;" which was the very idea his argument required him to suggest to us. HURD.

poets, or among those whom both the present age and posterity will disdainfully reject? He may fairly be placed among the ancients, who is younger either by a short month only, or even by a whole year. I take the advantage of this concession, and pull away by little and little, as [if they were] the hairs of a horse's tail: and I take away a single one, and then again another single one; till, like a tumbling heap,[8] [my adversary,] who has recourse to annals and estimates excellence by the year, and admires nothing but what Libitina[9] has made sacred, falls to the ground.

Ennius[10] the wise, the nervous, and (as our critics say) a second Homer, seems lightly to regard what becomes of his promises and Pythagorean dreams. Is not Nævius[11] in people's hands, and sticking almost fresh in their memory? So sacred is every ancient poem. As often as a debate arises, whether this poet or the other be preferable; Pacuvius bears away the character of a learned, Accius, of a lofty writer; Afranius' gown[12] is said to have fitted Menander; Plautus, to hurry after the pattern of the Sicilian Epicharmus; Cæcilius, to excel in gravity, Terence in contrivance. These mighty Rome learns by heart, and these she views crowded in her narrow theatre; these she esteems and accounts her poets from Livy[13] the writer's age down to our time. Sometimes

[8] *Ratione ruentis acervi.* This argument, called *sorites*, from a Greek word σωρὸς, signifying an heap, is composed of many propositions very little different from each other, and chained together in such a manner, that beginning with a sensible, incontestable truth, they lead by degrees to a conclusion evidently false. FRAN.

[9] The goddess of funerals. Cf. Sat. ii. 6, 19.

[10] Ennius, who boasted himself another Homer; who, when alive, was anxious to preserve this mighty character, is no longer disquieted about his reputation. Death has consecrated his name; the critics confirm his title; his promises are fulfilled, and his opinion of a transmigration of souls is no longer a dream, as his enemies pretend. PORPHYRION.

[11] The commentators are much divided whether these words are spoken by Horace or the person who disputes with him. Bentley, Cunningham, and Sanadon read them with a point of interrogation. "Is not Nævius in the hands of every reader, and do we not repeat his works as if he was a modern?" FRAN.

[12] *Afrani toga.* A new and happy expression, alluding to the subjects of his comedies, which were formed on the manners and customs of the Romans, and played in Roman dresses. They were therefore called *togatæ*, as the Grecian were *palliatæ*. FRAN.

[13] Livius Andronicus, the most ancient of the Latin poets, brought his first play upon the stage in 514. SAN.

the populace see right; sometimes they are wrong. If they admire and extol the ancient poets so as to prefer nothing before, to compare nothing with them, they err; if they think and allow that they express some things in an obsolete, most in a stiff, many in a careless manner; they both think sensibly, and agree with me, and determine with the assent of Jove himself. Not that I bear an ill-will against Livy's epics, and would doom them to destruction, which I remember the severe Orbilius taught me when a boy; but they should seem correct, beautiful, and very little short of perfect, this I wonder at: among which if by chance a bright expression shines forth, and if one line or two [happen to be] somewhat terse and musical, this unreasonably carries off and sells the whole poem. I am disgusted that any thing should be found fault with, not because it is a lumpish composition or inelegant, but because it is modern; and that not a favourable allowance, but honour and rewards[14] are demanded for the old writers. Should I scruple, whether or not Atta's drama trod the saffron and flowers[15] in a proper manner, almost all the fathers would cry out, that modesty was lost; since I attempted to find fault with those pieces which the pathetic Æsopus,[16] which the skilful Roscius acted: either because they esteem nothing right, but what has pleased themselves; or because they think it disgraceful to submit to their juniors, and to confess, now they are old, that what they learned when young is deserving only to be destroyed. Now he who extols Numa's

[14] *Honorem et præmia.* The rewards and honours which this disputant demands for his favourite ancients, were, having their works placed, and their statues erected, in the library of Apollo. DAC.

[15] Perfumed waters were scattered through the Roman theatres, and the stage was covered with flowers, to which Horace pleasantly alludes, when he supposes the plays of Atta limping over the stage like their lame author. Titus Quintius had the surname of Atta given him, which signifies a man who walks on tip-toe. We are obliged to Scaliger for discovering the beauty of this passage. FRAN.

[16] Æsopus excelled in tragedy, from whence Horace calls him *gravis*, pathetic. Roscius had a lively, natural, familiar manner of speaking, proper for comedy. He composed a book upon theatrical eloquence, in which he attempted to prove, that any sentiment might be as variously expressed by action, as by the power of language. Cicero gives him this amiable character: "he was so excellent an actor, that he alone seemed worthy to appear upon a stage; but he was a man of so much probity, that he alone should never have appeared there." FRAN.

Salian[17] hymn, and would alone seem to understand that which, as well as me, he is ignorant of, does not favour and applaud the buried geniuses, but attacks ours, enviously hating us moderns and every thing of ours. Whereas if novelty had been detested by the Greeks as much as by us, what at this time would there have been ancient? Or what would there have been for common use to read, and thumb common to every body?

When first Greece, her wars being over, began to trifle, and through prosperity to glide into folly; she glowed with the love one while of wrestlers,[18] another while of horses; was fond of artificers in marble, or in ivory, or in brass; hung her looks and attention upon a picture; was delighted now with musicians, now with tragedians; as if an infant girl, she sported under the nurse; soon cloyed, she abandoned what [before] she earnestly desired. What is there that pleases, or is odious, which you may not think mutable? This effect had happy times of peace, and favourable gales [of fortune].

At Rome it was long pleasing and customary to be up early with open doors, to expound the laws to clients; to lay out money cautiously upon good securities;[19] to hear the elder, and to tell the younger by what means their fortunes might increase, and pernicious luxury be diminished. The inconstant people have changed their mind, and glow with a universal ardour for learning: young men and grave fathers sup crowned with leaves, and dictate poetry. I myself, who affirm that I

[17] *Saliare Numæ carmen.* Numa composed hymns in honour of Mars, which were sung by his priests. They were called *axamenta*, because they were written upon tables of wood, *axes*. The language of them was grown so dark and obsolete, that Cicero confesses he did not understand them; and Quintilian says, in his time they were scarce intelligible to the priests themselves. FRAN.

[18] The Greeks were so passionately fond of these athletic exercises, that Herodotus tells us they would not discontinue them, even during the most destructive wars; and Plutarch assures us, that the Romans of his time were persuaded that nothing contributed more to reduce them to slavery than their love for these diversions. FRAN.

[19] *Cautos nominibus rectis.* "Cauti nummi," sums of money lent upon good security. Thus the Latins used "cautum tempus, cauta summa, cautum chirographum." By "certis nominibus" are to be understood, solvent debtors, as in Cicero, "bona nomina." TORR.

write no verses, am found more false than the Parthians:[20] and, awake before the sun is risen, I call for my pen and papers and desk. He that is ignorant of a ship, is afraid to work a ship; none but he who has learned, dares administer [even] southern wood to the sick; physicians undertake what belongs to physicians; mechanics handle tools; but we, unlearned and learned, promiscuously write poems.

Yet how great advantages this error and this slight madness has, thus compute: the poet's mind is not easily covetous; fond of verses, he studies this alone; he laughs at losses, flights of slaves, fires; he contrives no fraud against his partner, or his young ward; he lives on husks, and brown bread; though dastardly and unfit for war, he is useful at home, if you allow this, that great things may derive assistance from small ones. The poet fashions the child's tender and lisping mouth, and turns his ear even at this time from obscene language; afterwards also he forms his heart with friendly precepts, the corrector of his rudeness and envy and passion; he records virtuous actions, he instructs the rising age with approved examples, he comforts the indigent and the sick. Whence should the virgin, stranger to a husband, with the chaste boys, learn the solemn prayer, had not the muse given a poet? The chorus entreats the divine aid, and finds the gods propitious; sweet in learned prayer, they implore the waters of the heavens;[21] avert diseases, drive off impend-

[20] The Romans had frequent experience of Parthian perfidy. Such was their amusing Crassus with a treaty of peace, and cutting his army in pieces. Even their manner of flying when they fought, was a kind of military lie and imposture, which spoke the character of the nation; nor is it an ill resemblance of a poet who renounces rhyming, yet continues to write. CRUQ.

[21] In the time of a general drought, sacrifices, called *aquilicia*, were performed to Jupiter to implore rain. The people walked bare-footed in procession, and hymns were sung by a chorus of boys and girls. But to reduce the god to a necessity of hearing them, they rolled a great stone, called *lapis manalis*, through the streets, being persuaded it had a virtue of bringing down rain. But the priests never brought forth this miraculous stone, until they were tolerably well assured of the success. Tages and Baccis, Bœotian and Etruscan soothsayers, had remarked, that the fibres of the sacrifices were of a yellow colour, when the wind turned to rain after a long drought, and ordered the water-stones to be then immediately rolled. "Fibræ jecinoris sandaracei coloris dum fuant, manales tunc verrere opus est petras." Such miracles required such art to support them. FRAN.

ing dangers, obtain both peace and years enriched with fruits. With song the gods above are appeased, with song the gods below.

Our ancient swains, stout and happy with a little, after the grain was laid up, regaling in a festival season their bodies and even their minds, patient of hardships through the hope of their ending, with their slaves and faithful wife, the partners of their labours, atoned with a hog [the goddess] Earth, with milk Silvanus, with flowers and wine the genius that reminds us of our short life. Invented by this custom, the Fescennine[22] licentiousness poured forth its rustic taunts in alternate stanzas; and this liberty, received down through revolving years, sported pleasingly; till at length the bitter raillery began to be turned into open rage, and threatening with impunity to stalk through reputable families. They, who suffered from its bloody tooth, smarted with the pain; the unhurt likewise were concerned for the common condition: further also, a law and a penalty[23] were enacted, which forbade that any one should be stigmatized in lampoon. Through fear of the bastinado, they were reduced to the necessity of changing their manner, and of praising and delighting.

Captive Greece took captive her fierce conqueror, and introduced her arts into rude Latium. Thus flowed off the

[22] The peasants of Latium had as little regard to modesty in their diversions, as the Tuscans had in their verses. Fescenina was a town in Etruria, whose inhabitants, in all their public entertainments, and in their marriage festivals especially, were not ashamed of licentious and obscene expressions in the verses pronounced on such occasions. When the Romans began to form their stage, as the Tuscans were famous for dancing, and theatrical representations, a company of them were sent for to Rome in the year 342. They did not speak, because the Romans did not understand their language, but they supplied their want of speech by a kind of dumb declamation. By their dancing, gesture, and movements, regulated by the sound of the flute, they presented every thought and sentiment to the eyes of the spectators. From these beginnings the Roman theatre arose. SAN.

[23] This law was thus expressed, "Si occentâssit malum carmen, sive condidisset, quod infamiam faxit flagitiumque alteri, capital esto." If any one sing or compose verses injurious to the reputation or honour of another, let him be punished with death. This law was made in 302, which is a proof, says Mr. Sanadon, that the Romans wrote verses in the first ages of their state. The poets from thence changed their tone for fear of being beaten to death. This punishment was called *Fustuarium*. FRAN.

rough Saturnian numbers, and delicacy expelled the rank venom: but for a long time there remained, and at this day remain, traces of rusticity. For late [the Roman writer] applied his genius to the Grecian pages; and enjoying rest after the Punic wars,[24] began to search what useful matter Sophocles, and Thespis, and Æschylus afforded: he tried, too, if he could with dignity translate their works; and succeeded in pleasing himself, being by nature [of a genius] sublime and strong: for he breathes a spirit tragic enough, and dares successfully; but fears a blot, and thinks it disgraceful in his writings.

Comedy is believed to require the least pains, because it fetches its subjects from common life; but the less indulgence it meets with, the more labour it requires. See how Plautus[25] supports the character of a lover under age, how that of a covetous father, how those of a cheating pimp: how Dossennus exceeds all measure in his voracious parasites; with how loose a sock he runs over the stage: for he is glad to put the money in his pocket, after this regardless whether his play stand or fall.

Him, whom glory in her airy car[26] has brought upon the

[24] In 514, a year after the first Punic war, Livius Andronicus first brought a play divided into acts upon the Roman stage. The republic then enjoyed an universal peace, for the temple of Janus was shut in 519. DAC.

[25] Our best interpreters imagine, that Horace praises Plautus and Dossennus, and proposes them as examples worthy of our imitation in the beautiful characters in their plays. On the contrary, Horace, better to show the difficulty of succeeding in comedy, is willing to mark some of the faults which the best theatrical poets have committed. Plautus, who succeeded so well in the plots and intrigues of his plays, is very unhappy in his characters, which are generally either too tame, or too much outraged. Dossennus was in great reputation for the morality of his plays, as appears by his epitaph, "Hospes, resiste, et sophiam Dossenni lege;" but his characters were of one unvaried kind, and only fit for the diversion of the crowd. Horace pleasantly marks this negligence by saying, he walked over the stage with his comic slippers loose and untied. HEINSIUS. DAC.

[26] *Quem tulit ad scenam ventoso gloria curru, exanimat lentus spectator*, &c. There is an exquisite spirit of pleasantry in these lines, which hath quite evaporated in the hands of the critics. These have gravely supposed them to come from the person of the poet, and to contain his serious censure of the vanity of poetic fame. Whereas, besides the manifest absurdity of the thing, its inconsistency with what is delivered elsewhere on this subject, (A. P. v. 324,) where the Greeks are commended as being "præter laudem nullius avari," absolutely requires us to understand them as

stage, the careless spectator dispirits, the attentive renders more diligent: so slight, so small a matter it is, which overturns or raises a mind covetous of praise! Adieu the ludicrous business [of dramatic writing], if applause denied brings me back meagre, bestowed [makes me] full of flesh and spirits.

This too frequently drives away and deters even an adventurous poet? that they who are in number more, in worth and rank inferior, unlearned and foolish, and (if the equestrian order dissents) ready to fall to blows, in the midst of the play, call for either a bear or boxers; for in these the mob delight. Nay, even all the pleasure of our knights is now transferred from the ear to the uncertain eyes, and their vain amusements. The curtains[27] are kept down for four hours or more, while troops of horse and companies of foot flee over the stage: next is dragged forward the fortune of kings, with their hands bound behind them; chariots, litters, carriages, ships[28] hurry on; captive ivory, captive Corinth, is borne along. Democritus, if he were on earth, would laugh; whether a panther a different

proceeding from an objector; who, as the poet hath very satirically contrived, is left to expose himself in the very terms of his objection. He had just been blaming the venality of the Roman dramatic writers. They had shown themselves more solicitous about filling their pockets, than deserving the reputation of good poets. And, instead of insisting further on the excellency of this latter motive, he stops short, and brings in a bad poet himself to laugh at it.

"And what then," says he, "you would have us yield ourselves to the very wind and gust of praise; and, dropping all inferior considerations, drive away to the expecting stage in the puffed car of vain-glory? For what? To be dispirited, or blown up with air, as the capricious spectator shall think fit to enforce or withhold his inspirations. And is this the mighty benefit of your vaunted passion for fame? No; farewell the stage, if the breath of others is that on which the silly bard is to depend for the contraction or enlargement of his dimensions." HURD.

[27] *Aulæa.* The curtain, in the ancient theatre, when the play began, or, upon extraordinary occasions, between the acts, was let down and placed under the stage. Thus they said "tollere aulæa" when the play was done, and "premere aulæa" when it began and the actors appeared. We say just the contrary. FRAN.

[28] Ships either in picture, says the old commentator, or drawn along the Tiber, which was not far from Pompey's theatre. Dacier thinks, there were subterranean conduits, which poured forth such a sea of waters, that a naval combat might be represented on it. Indeed if we believe the prodigious accounts given by historians of the magnificence and expense of the Roman shows, public entertainments, and triumphs, nothing of this kind can appear incredible to us. However, as the towns in this procession were built of ivory, we may believe the ships were pictures. FRAN.

genus confused[29] with the camel, or a white elephant attracted the eyes of the crowd. He would view the people more attentively than the sports themselves, as affording him more strange sights than the actor: and for the writers, he would think they told their story to a deaf ass. For what voices are able to overbear the din with which our theatres resound? You would think the grove of Garganus, or the Tuscan Sea, was roaring; with so great noise are viewed the shows and contrivances, and foreign riches: with which the actor being daubed over, as soon as he appears upon the stage, each right hand encounters with the left. Has he said any thing yet? Nothing at all. What then pleases? The cloth imitating [the colour of] violets, with the dye of Tarentum.

And, that you may not think I enviously praise those kinds of writing, which I decline undertaking, when others handle them well: that poet to me seems able to walk upon an extended rope,[30] who with his fictions[31] grieves my soul, enrages, soothes, fills it with false terrors, as an enchanter; and sets me now in Thebes, now in Athens.[32]

But of those too, who had rather trust themselves with a reader, than bear the disdain of an haughty spectator, use a

[29] *Diversum confusa genus.* "Panthera camelo confusa, diversum tamen ab utroque genus" is the construction. This creature was first shown to the people by Julius Cæsar, as a tame tiger was by Augustus. TORR.

[30] The Romans, who were immoderately addicted to spectacles of every kind, had in particular esteem the *funambuli*, or rope-dancers;

"Ita populus studio stupidus in funambulo
Animum occupârat." PROL. IN HECYR.

From the admiration of whose tricks the expression "ire per extentum funem" came to denote, proverbially, an uncommon degree of excellence and perfection in any thing. The allusion is here made with much pleasantry, as the poet had just been rallying their fondness for these extraordinary achievements. HURD.

[31] *Qui pectus inaniter angit.* The word *inaniter*, as well as *falsis*, applied in the following line to *terroribus*, would express that wondrous force of dramatic representation, which compels us to take part in feigned adventures and situations, as if they were real; and exercises the passions with the same violence in remote, fancied scenes, as in the present distresses of real life. HURD.

[32] We must understand this of different plays, for the Greek and Roman stage by no means allowed that change of scenes, which is indulged to an English theatre. Argos, Thebes, Athens, according to the expression of Torrentius, were the dwelling-houses of tragedy. FRAN.

little care; if you would fill with books [the library you have erected], an offering worthy of Apollo, and add an incentive to the poets, that with greater eagerness they may apply to verdant Helicon.

We poets, it is true, (that I may hew down my own vineyards,) often do ourselves many mischiefs, when we present a work to you while thoughtful, or fatigued; when we are pained, if any friend has dared to find fault with one line: when, unasked, we read over again passages already repeated: when we lament that our labours do not appear, and our poems, spun out in a fine thread: when we hope the thing will come to this, that as soon as you are apprized we are penning verses, you will kindly of yourself send for us, and secure us from want, and oblige us to write. But yet it is worth while to know, who shall be the priests[33] of your virtue signalized in war and at home, which is not to be trusted to an unworthy poet. A favourite of king Alexander the Great[34] was that Chœrilus, who to his uncouth and ill-formed verses owed the many pieces he received of Philip's royal

[33] *Ædituos.* Since the time that Augustus had received divine honours, our poet looked upon his actions as things sacred. His virtue is now become a goddess, and hath a temple consecrated to her, and poets are the guardians of it and of its mysteries. Such is the meaning of *Ædituos.* FRAN.

[34] This praise of Augustus, arising from the comparison of his character with that of Alexander, is extremely fine. It has been observed of the Macedonian, by his historians and panegyrists, that to the stern virtues of the conqueror he had joined the softer accomplishments of the virtuoso, in a just discernment and love of poetry and of the elegant arts. The one was thought clear, from his admiration and study of Homer; and the other, from his famous edict concerning Apelles and Lysippus, could not be denied. Horace finds means to turn both these circumstances in his story to the advantage of his prince.

From his extravagant pay of such a wretched versifier as Chœrilus, he would insinuate, that Alexander's love of the muse was, in fact, but a blind, unintelligent impulse towards glory. And, from his greater skill in the arts of sculpture and of painting than of verse, he represents him as more concerned about the drawing of his figure than the portraiture of his manners and mind. Whereas Augustus, by his liberalities to Varius and Virgil, had discovered the truest taste in the art from which he expected immortality; and, in trusting to that as the chief instrument of his fame, had confessed a prior regard to those mental virtues which are the real ornament of humanity, before that look of terror, and air and attitude of victory, in which the brute violence of Alexander most delighted to be shown. HURD.

coin. But, as ink when touched leaves behind it a mark and a blot, so writers as it were stain shining actions by foul poetry. That same king, who prodigally bought so dear so ridiculous a poem, by an edict forbade that any one beside Apelles should paint him, or that any other than Lysippus should mould brass for the likeness of the valiant Alexander. But should you call that faculty of his, so delicate in discerning other arts, to [judge of] books and of these gifts of the muses, you would swear he had been born in the gross air of the Bœotians. Yet neither do Virgil and Varius, your beloved poets, disgrace your judgment of them, and the presents which they have received with great honour to the donor; nor do the features of illustrious men appear more lively when expressed by statues of brass, than their manners and minds expressed by the works of a poet. Nor would I rather compose such tracts as these creeping on the ground, than record deeds of arms, and the situations of countries, and rivers, and forts reared upon mountains, and barbarous kingdoms, and wars brought to a conclusion through the whole world under your auspices,[35] and the barriers that confine Janus the guardian of peace, and Rome dreaded by the Parthians under your government, if I were but able to do as much as I could wish. But neither does your majesty[36] admit of humble poetry, nor dares my modesty attempt a subject which my strength is unable to support. Yet officiousness foolishly disgusts the person whom it loves; especially when it recommends itself by numbers, and the art [of writing]. For one learns sooner, and more willingly remembers, that which a man derides, than that which he approves and venerates. I value not the zeal that gives me uneasiness;

[35] The wars being ended through the Roman empire under the auspicia of Augustus, that is, by his lieutenants, he shut the temple of Janus. But the two first times that he had shut this temple, in 725 and 730, he had commanded in person. Historians inform us, that it was open from 732 to 744, when it was shut on occasion of the victories of Tiberius and Drusus; and that it was again opened at the end of the same year, and never shut during the life of Augustus. In this year we may date the present epistle. SAN.

[36] *Majestas.* In the time of the republic, this title was given to the body of the people and the principal magistrates; but when the sovereign power was placed in a single person, the title of majesty was given to him and to his house, "Majestas Augusti; majestas divinæ domûs." DAC.

nor do I wish to be set out any where in wax,[37] with a face formed for the worse, nor to be celebrated in ill-composed verses; lest I blush, when presented with the gross gift; and, exposed in an open box along with my author, be conveyed into the street that sells frankincense, and spices, and pepper, and whatever is wrapped up in impertinent writings.

## EPISTLE II.

TO JULIUS FLORUS.

*In apologizing for not having written to him, he shows that the well-ordering of life is of more importance than the composition of verses.*

O FLORUS, faithful friend to the good and illustrious Nero, if by chance any one should offer to sell you a boy born at Tibur or Gabii, and should treat with you in this manner; "This [boy who is] both good-natured, and well-favoured from head to foot, shall become and be yours for eight thousand sesterces; a domestic slave, ready in his attendance at his master's nod; initiated in the Greek language, of a capacity for any art: you may shape out any thing with [such] moist clay; besides, he will sing in an artless manner, but yet entertaining to one drinking. Lavish promises lessen credit, when any one cries up extravagantly the wares he has for sale, which he wants to put off. No emergency obliges me [to dispose of him]: though poor, I am in nobody's debt. None of the chapmen would do this for you; nor should every body readily receive the same favour from me. Once, [indeed,] he loitered[38] [on an errand]; and (as it happens)

[37] Horace, with much solemn pleasantry, talks as if he were a man who deserved a statue to be erected to his honour, or was to be made the hero of an epic poem. In the next line he seems determined to refuse any honours, that might be paid him by a fulsome poetical flatterer, and is justly apprehensive of being carried with his author to wrap up frankincense and spices *in vico thuario*. FRAN.

[38] *Cessavit.* This word, which properly signifies *to loiter, remissè et oscitanter agere,* gives only a general idea of a trivial fault, but this idea is determined by *fuga* in the second line following. The lad is found to be a common fugitive, a fault so considerable, that a merchant was obliged to mention it particularly, or the sale was void. FRAN.

absconded, being afraid of the lash that hangs in the stair-case.[39] Give me your money, if this runaway trick, which I have expected, does not offend you." In my opinion, the man may take his price, and be secure from any punishment: you wittingly purchased a good-for-nothing boy: the condition of the contract[40] was told you. Nevertheless you prosecute this man, and detain him in an unjust suit.

I told you, at your setting out, that I was indolent:[41] I told you I was almost incapable of such offices: that you might not chide me in angry mood, because no letter [from me] came to hand. What then have I profited, if you nevertheless arraign the conditions that make for me? On the same score too you complain, that, being worse than my word, I do not send you the verses you expected.

A soldier of Lucullus, [having run through] a great many hardships, was robbed of his collected stock to a penny, as he lay snoring in the night quite fatigued: after this, like a ravenous wolf, equally exasperated at himself and the enemy, eager, with his hungry fangs, he beat off a royal guard from a post (as they report) very strongly fortified, and well supplied with stores. Famous on account of this exploit, he is adorned with honourable rewards, and receives twenty thousand sesterces into the bargain. It happened about this time that his officer, being inclined to batter down a certain fort, began to encourage the same man, with words that might even have given courage to a coward: "Go, my brave fellow, whither your valour calls you: go with prosperous step, certain to receive ample rewards of your merit. Why do you hesitate? Upon this, he arch, though a rustic: "He who has lost his purse,[42] will go whither you wish," says he.

[39] The construction is, *latuit metuens habenæ pendentis in scalis.* That their slaves might have the punishment always before their eyes, the whip was hung on the stair-case. TORR. DAC.

[40] *Lex* does not here signify *law*, but the form, the condition of the bargain when the sale was made, *des nummos, excepta nihil te si fuga lædat*, without which, the merchant was liable to an action, *actionem redhibitoriam* during six months. ED. DUBL.

[41] The first of seven reasons, which Horace gives for not writing, is his natural indolence. The second is an allusion to the story of Lucullus his soldier; that a poet of an easy fortune should write verses only for his amusement. SAN.

[42] The ancients carried their money in a purse tied to their girdles, from whence we find in Plautus, "sector zonarius," a cut-purse. Alex-

It was my lot to have Rome for my nurse,[43] and to be instructed [from the Iliad] how much the exasperated Achilles prejudiced the Greeks. Good Athens[44] gave me some additional learning: that is to say, to be able to distinguish a right line from a curve, and seek after truth in the groves of Academus.[45] But the troublesome times removed me from that pleasant spot; and the tide of a civil war carried me away, unexperienced as I was, into arms, [into arms] not likely to be a match for the sinews of Augustus Cæsar. Whence, as soon as [the battle of] Philippi dismissed me in an abject condition, with my wings clipped, and destitute both of house and land, daring poverty[46] urged me on to the composition of verses: but now, having more than is wanted, what medicines would be efficacious enough to cure my madness, if I did not think it better to rest than to write verses.

The advancing years rob us of every thing: they have taken away my mirth, my gallantry, my revellings, and play: they are now proceeding to force poetry from me. What would you have me do?

In short, all persons do not love and admire the same things.

ander Severus used to say, a soldier is never afraid, but when he is well armed, well clothed, well fed, and has money in his purse. When he is poor and hungry, he is fit for any desperate action. FRAN.

[43] Horace went to Rome in 696, when he was about seventeen or eighteen years of age, and read humanity under Orbilius Pupillus. SAN.

[44] He went to Athens in 709, when he was nineteen years old, to study philosophy. His reading Homer, and his father's instructions, had already much improved him, but at Athens he acquired something more; for he not only studied other parts of philosophy there, but learned morality by reasoning and principles. SAN.

[45] The name of Academus is one of those which the sciences have consecrated to immortality with the greatest justice. He was a rich Athenian, who, in his regard for philosophy, left to the philosophers, for holding their assemblies, a fine house at Athens, adorned with a magnificent gallery, a number of statues, and a park, planted with trees. Plato had his school there, from whence the philosophers of his sect were called Academicians. Horace characterizes this school by what distinguished it from all others; its not boasting that it had found truth, but only professing to search for it, "quærere verum." TORR.

[46] We must not understand these words literally, as if Horace never wrote verses before the battle of Philippi, but that he did not apply his genius to poetry, as to a profession, before that time. The satire "Proscripti Regis Rupili," was apparently written while he was in Brutus's army. This frank confession of his misfortunes has much sincerity, and he makes it more willingly, since it turns to the glory of Augustus. DAC.

You delight in the ode: one man is pleased with iambics; another with satires written in the manner of Bion, and virulent wit. Three guests scarcely can be found to agree, craving very different dishes with various palate. What shall I give? What shall I not give? You forbid, what another demands: what you desire, that truly is sour and disgustful to the [other] two.

Beside other [difficulties], do you think it practicable for me to write poems at Rome, amidst so many solicitudes and so many fatigues? One calls me as his security, another to hear his works, all business else apart; one lives on the mount of Quirinus, the other in the extremity of the Aventine; both must be waited on. The distances between them, you see, are charmingly commodious.[47] "But the streets are clear, so that there can be no obstacle to the thoughtful."—A builder in heat hurries along with his mules and porters: the crane whirls aloft at one time a stone, at another a great piece of timber: the dismal funerals dispute the way with the unwieldy carriages: here runs a mad dog, there rushes a sow begrimed with mire.—Go now, and meditate with yourself your harmonious verses. All the whole choir of poets love the grove, and avoid cities, due votaries to Bacchus[48] delighting in repose and shade. Would you have me, amidst so great noise both by night and day, [attempt] to sing, and trace the difficult footsteps of the poets? A genius who has chosen quiet Athens for his residence, and has devoted seven years to study, and has grown old in books and study, frequently walks forth more dumb than a statue, and shakes the people's sides with laughter: here, in the midst of the billows and tempests of the city, can I be thought capable of connecting words likely to wake the sound of the lyre?

At Rome there was a rhetorician, brother to a lawyer; [so fond of each other were they,] that they would hear nothing but the mere praises of each other: insomuch, that the latter appeared a Gracchus to the former, the former a Mucius[49] to

[47] These hills were at the extremities of Rome north and south, from whence the poet ironically says "humanè commoda, no unreasonable distance." ED. DUBL.

[48] The poets sacrificed to Bacchus every year in the month of March. His festival was called *Liberalia*, and Ovid tells us he had frequently assisted at them. The summits of Parnassus were consecrated to that god.

[49] Commentators have caused some confusion here by not perceiving

the latter. Why should this frenzy affect the obstreperous poets in a less degree? I write odes, another elegies: a work wonderful to behold, and burnished by the nine muses! Observe first, with what a fastidious air, with what importance we survey the temple [of Apollo] vacant for the Roman poets. In the next place you may follow (if you are at leisure) and hear what each produces, and wherefore each weaves for himself the crown. Like Samnite gladiators in slow duel, till candle-light, we are beaten and waste out the enemy with equal blows: I come off Alcæus, in his suffrage; he in mine, who? Why who but Callimachus? Or, if he seems to make a greater demand, he becomes Mimnermus, and grows in fame by the chosen appellation. Much do I endure in order to pacify this passionate race of poets, when I am writing; and submissive court the applause of the people; [but,] having finished my studies and recovered my senses, I the same man can now boldly stop my open ears against reciters.

Those who make bad verses are laughed at: but they are pleased in writing, and reverence themselves; and if you are silent, they, happy, fall to praising of their own accord whatever they have written. But he who desires to execute a genuine poem, will with his papers assume the spirit of an honest critic: whatever words shall have but little clearness and elegance, or shall be without weight and held unworthy of estimation, he will dare to displace: though they may recede with reluctance, and still remain in the sanctuary of Vesta: those that have been long hidden from the people he kindly will drag forth, and bring to light those expressive denominations of things that were used by the Catos and

to what Mucius reference is made. There were three celebrated lawyers of this name, P. Mucius Scævola, and two Q. Mucii Scævolæ. P. Mucius Scævola, consul A. U. C. 620, the same year that Tiberius Gracchus was tribune, is the person here mentioned. Q. Mucius Scævola, son of that Publius, and called by Crassus, Cic. de Orat. i. 39, "Jurisperitorum eloquentissimus, eloquentium jurisperitissimus," was the colleague of Crassus in the consulship, A. U. C. 658, whilst the Q. Mucius Scævola under whose care Cicero was placed by his father on assuming the *toga virilis*, was the son-in-law of Lælius, and the father-in-law of L. Crassus the orator. Bentley insists that we should read Crassus for Gracchus. Crassus and Scævola were contemporaries, and colleagues in tribunato, censorship, and consulship, A. U. C. 659. Gracchus was much senior to Mucius, and inferior to him in eloquence. Crassus and Mucius support the dialogue in the first book of Cic. de Orat. M'CAUL.

Cethegi of ancient times, though now deformed dust and neglected age presses upon them: he will adopt new words, which use, the parent [of language], shall produce: forcible and perspicuous, and bearing the utmost similitude to a limpid stream, he will pour out his treasures, and enrich Latium with a comprehensive language. The luxuriant he will lop, the too harsh he will soften with a sensible cultivation: those void of expression he will discard: he will exhibit the appearance of one at play; and will be [in his invention] on the rack, like [a dancer on the stage], who one while affects the motions of a satyr, at another of a clumsy cyclops.

I had rather be esteemed a foolish and dull writer, while my faults please myself, or at least escape my notice, than be wise and smart for it. There lived at Argos a man of no mean rank, who imagined that he was hearing some admirable tragedians, a joyful sitter and applauder in an empty theatre: who [nevertheless] could support the other duties of life in a just manner; a truly honest neighbour, an amiable host, kind toward his wife, one who could pardon his slaves, nor would rave at the breaking of a bottle-seal: one who [had sense enough] to avoid a precipice, or an open well. This man, being cured at the expense and by the care of his relations, when he had expelled by the means of pure hellebore the disorder and melancholy humour, and returned to himself; "By Pollux, my friends, (said he,) you have destroyed, not saved me; from whom my pleasure is thus taken away, and a most agreeable delusion of mind removed by force."

In a word, it is of the first consequence to be wise in the rejection of trifles, and leave childish play to boys for whom it is in season, and not to scan words to be set to music for the Roman harps, but [rather] to be perfectly an adept in the numbers and proportions of real life. Thus therefore I commune with myself, and ponder these things in silence: "If no quantity of water would put an end to your thirst, you would tell it to your physicians. And is there none to whom you dare confess, that the more you get, the more you crave? If you had a wound, which was not relieved by a plant or root prescribed to you, you would refuse being doctored with a root or plant that did no good. You have heard that vicious folly left the man, on whom the gods conferred

wealth; and though you are nothing wiser, since you became richer, will you nevertheless use the same monitors as before? But could riches make you wise, could they make you less covetous and mean-spirited, you well might blush, if there lived on earth one more avaricious than yourself."

If that be any man's property which he has bought by the pound and penny,[50] [and] there be some things to which (if you give credit to the lawyers) possession gives a claim,[51] [then] the field that feeds you is your own; and Orbius' steward, when he harrows the corn which is soon to give you flour, finds you are [in effect] the proper master. You give your money; you receive grapes, pullets, eggs, a hogshead of strong wine: certainly in this manner you by little and little purchase that farm, for which perhaps the owner paid three hundred thousand sesterces, or more. What does it signify, whether you live on what was paid for the other day, or a long while ago? He who purchased the Aricinian and Veientine fields some time since, sups on bought vegetables, however he may think otherwise; boils his pot with bought wood at the approach of the chill evening. But he calls all that his own, as far as where the planted poplar prevents quarrels among neighbours by a determinate limitation: as if any thing were a man's property, which in a moment of the fleeting hour, now by solicitations, now by sale, now by violence, and now by the supreme lot [of all men], may change masters, and come into another's jurisdiction. Thus since the perpetual possession is given to none, and one man's heir urges on another's, as wave impels wave, of what importance are houses, or granaries; or what the Lucanian pastures joined to the Calabrian; if Hades, inexorable to gold, mows down the great together with the small?

Gems, marble, ivory, Tuscan[52] statues, pictures, silver-plate, robes dyed with Getulian purple, there are who can-

[50] *Librâ mercatur et ære.* In the reign of Servius Tullus, the Romans weighed their money before witnesses, in a bargain of buying and selling. When this custom was afterwards changed, yet the same expression continued. ED. DUBL.

[51] *Mancipat usus.* To prevent the perpetual vexations of law-suits, the laws wisely established, that possession and enjoyment for a certain number of years should confirm a title and ascertain the property of an estate. This right of prescription was called *usucapio.* ED. DUBL.

[52] The Tuscans were famous for making statues and vases of earth and

not acquire; and there are others, who are not solicitous of acquiring. Of two brothers, why one prefers lounging, play, and perfume, to Herod's rich palm-tree groves;[53] why the other, rich and uneasy, from the rising of the light to the evening shade, subdues his woodland with fire and steel: our attendant genius knows, who governs the planet of our nativity, the divinity [that presides] over human nature, who dies with each individual, of various complexion, white and black.

I will use, and take out from my moderate stock, as much as my exigence demands: nor will I be under any apprehensions what opinion my heir shall hold concerning me, when he shall find [I have left him] no more than I had given me. And yet I, the same man, shall be inclined to know how far an open and cheerful person differs from a debauchee, and how greatly the economist differs from the miser. For there is some distinction whether you throw away your money in a prodigal manner, or make an entertainment without grudging, nor toil to accumulate more; or rather, as formerly in Minerva's holidays,[54] when a school-boy, enjoy by starts the short and pleasant vacation.

Let sordid poverty be far away. I, whether borne in a large or small vessel, let me be borne uniform and the same. I am not wafted with swelling sail before the north wind blowing fair: yet I do not bear my course of life against the ad-

copper gilt, with which they decorated their temples and apartments. *Vestes*, in the next line, not only signifies clothes, but all sorts of tapestry, carpets, &c.; and, to show how unnecessary these ornaments are, the poet says there are many people who never give themselves any trouble or concern about them. SAN.

[53] Judea was famous for its woods of palm, from whence Herod drew a considerable revenue. He began to reign in 717; he reigned seventeen years, and died in 750, between the 13th and 28th of March, three months after the birth of our Saviour. SAN.

[54] *Festis quinquatribus*. According to the mythological tradition, Minerva came into the world the 19th of March, and therefore that day was consecrated to her. Four days afterwards there was another festival, called *tubilustrium sacrorum*, the purification of the musical instruments used in the sacrifices. These two festivals were afterwards united, by including the three days which separated them, and they were from thence called *quinquatrus* or *quinquatria*. This festival was a joyful vacation for school-boys, and some of them diverted themselves at their master's expense, by spending their Minerval, a present sent to him in money by their parents. DAC. SAN.

verse south. In force, genius, figure, virtue, station, estate, the last of the first-rate, [yet] still before those of the last.

You are not covetous, [you say]:—go to.—What then? Have the rest of your vices fled from you, together with this? Is your breast free from vain ambition? Is it free from the fear of death, and from anger? Can you laugh at dreams, magic terrors, wonders, witches, nocturnal goblins, and Thessalian prodigies? Do you number your birth-days with a grateful mind? Are you forgiving to your friends? Do you grow milder and better as old age approaches? What profits you only one thorn eradicated out of many? If you do not know how to live in a right manner, make way for those that do. You have played enough, eaten and drunk enough, it is time for you to walk off: lest having tippled too plentifully, that age which plays the wanton with more propriety, should ridicule and drive you [off the stage].

HORACE'S BOOK

UPON

# THE ART OF POETRY.

TO THE PISOS.

If a painter[1] should wish to unite a horse's neck to a human head, and spread a variety of plumage over limbs [of different animals] taken from every part [of nature],[2] so that what is a beautiful woman in the upper part terminates unsightly in an ugly fish below; could you, my friends, refrain from

[1] All that our poet says here may be referred, in general, to three heads, the fable, the manners, and the diction. We should take notice that this piece particularly regards epic and dramatic poetry, and that our author only occasionally mentions any other kind.

The most important precept for the composition of a poem is unity and simplicity of design. There should be only one action, to which all the incidents ought to refer; and this point of perfection, every regular work requires. To show the necessity of this rule, Horace compares an irregular poem to pictures formed by a wild assortment of many parts entirely unlike each other. Every part, considered in itself, may have its proper, natural perfection, while their union produces nothing but what is monstrous and ridiculous. FRAN.

The critic's rules must be taken either, 1. from the general standing laws of composition; or, 2. from the peculiar ones, appropriated to the kind. Now the direction to be fetched from the former of these sources will of course precede, as well on account of its superior dignity, as that the mind itself delights to descend from universals to the consideration of particulars. Agreeably to this rule of nature, the poet, having to correct, in the Roman drama, these three points, 1. a misconduct in the disposition; 2. an abuse of language; and, 3. a disregard of the peculiar characters and colourings of its different species, hath chosen to do this on principles of universal nature; which, while they include the case of the drama, at the same time extend to poetic composition at large. These prefatory, universal observations being delivered, he then proceeds, with advantage, to the second source of this art, viz. the consideration of the laws and rules peculiar to the kind. HURD.

[2] But Orelli more rightly treats "collatis membris" as the ablative absolute.

laughter, were you admitted to such a sight? Believe, ye Pisos, the book will be perfectly like such a picture, the ideas of which, like a sick man's dreams, are all vain and fictitious: so that neither head nor foot can correspond to any one form. "Poets and painters [you will say] have ever had equal authority for attempting any thing." We are conscious of this, and this privilege we demand and allow in turn: but not to such a degree, that the tame should associate with the savage; nor that serpents should be coupled with birds, lambs with tigers.

In pompous introductions,[3] and such as promise a great deal, it generally happens that one or two verses of purple patch-work, that may make a great show, are tagged on; as when the grove and the altar of Diana and the meandering of a current hastening through pleasant fields, or the river Rhine, or the rainbow is described. But here there was no room for these [fine things]: perhaps, too, you know how to draw a cypress:[4] but what is that to the purpose, if he, who is painted for the given price, is [to be represented as] swimming hopeless out of a shipwreck? A large vase at first was

[3] These preparatory observations, concerning the laws of poetic composition at large, have been thought to glance more particularly at the epic poetry which was not improper: for, 1. the drama which he was about to criticize, had its rise and origin from the *epos*. Thus we are told by the great critic, that Homer was the first who invented dramatic imitations, *μόνος—ὅτι μιμήσεις δραματικὰς ἐποίησε*. 2. The several censures, here pointed at the epic, would bear still more directly against the tragic poem; it being more glaringly inconsistent with the genius of the drama to admit of foreign and digressive ornaments, than of the extended, episodical *epopœia*. For both these reasons, it was altogether pertinent to the poet's purpose, in a criticism on the drama, to expose the vicious practice of the epic models. Though, to preserve the unity of his piece, and for a further reason, (see note on v. 1,) he hath artfully done this under the cover of general criticism. HURD.

[4] Boughs of cypress were carried in funeral processions, and placed before the houses of the great, upon particular occasions of sorrow, *Et non plebeios luctus testata cupressus*. Lucan. From hence, perhaps, this tree was usually drawn in votive tablets; in pictures carried by beggars, to excite charity; and in those used by lawyers in courts of justice, to raise the compassion of the judges, by representing the distresses of their clients. A painter might, by frequent practice, excel in drawing a tree for which there was such demand; and he therefore absurdly determines to show his skill upon all occasions, even by painting it in the middle of the ocean, and making it overshadow the storm. The commentators understand this passage in a different manner. FRAN.

designed: why, as the wheel revolves, turns out a little pitcher? In a word, be your subject what it will, let it be merely simple and uniform.

The great majority of us poets, father, and youths worthy such a father, are misled by the appearance of right. I labour to be concise, I become obscure: nerves and spirit fail him, that aims at the easy: one, that pretends to be sublime, proves bombastical: he who is too cautious and fearful of the storm, crawls along the ground: he who wants to vary his subject in a marvellous manner,[5] paints the dolphin in the woods, the boar in the sea. The avoiding of an error leads to a fault, if it lack skill.

A statuary about the Æmilian school shall of himself, with singular skill,[6] both express the nails, and imitate in brass the flexible hair; unhappy yet in the main, because he knows not how to finish a complete piece. I would no more choose to be such a one as this, had I a mind to compose any thing, than to live with a distorted nose, [though] remarkable for black eyes and jetty hair.

Ye who write, make choice of a subject suitable to your abilities; and revolve in your thoughts a considerable time what your strength[7] declines, and what it is able to support. Neither elegance of style, nor a perspicuous disposition, shall desert the man, by whom the subject matter is chosen judiciously.

[5] The word *prodigialiter* apparently refers to that fictitious monster, under which the poet allusively shadows out the idea of absurd and inconsistent composition. The application, however, differs in this, that, whereas the monster, there painted, was intended to expose the extravagance of putting together incongruous parts, without any reference to a whole, this prodigy is designed to characterize a whole, but deformed by the ill-judged position of its parts. The former is like a monster, whose several members, as of right belonging to different animals, could by no disposition be made to constitute one consistent animal. The other, like a landscape which hath no objects absolutely irrelative, or irreducible to a whole, but which a wrong position of the parts only renders prodigious. Send the boar to the woods, and the dolphin to the waves; and the painter might show them both on the same canvass.

Each is a violation of the law of unity, and a real monster: the one, because it contains an assemblage of natural incoherent parts; the other, because its parts, though in themselves coherent, are misplaced and disjointed. HURD.

[6] "Unus"="præter cæteros," "melius quam reliqui omnes." ORELLI. The reading before Bentley was "imus."

[7] Literally, "shoulders," a phrase derived from wrestlers.

This, or I am mistaken, will constitute the merit and beauty of arrangement, that the poet just now say what ought just now to be said, put off most of his thoughts, and waive them for the present.

In the choice of his words, too, the author of the projected poem must be delicate and cautious, he must embrace one and reject another: you will express yourself eminently well, if a dexterous combination should give an air of novelty to a well-known word. If it happen to be necessary to explain some abstruse subjects by new-invented terms; it will follow that you must frame words never heard of by the old-fashioned[8] Cethegi: and the licence will be granted, if modestly used: and new and lately-formed words will have authority, if they descend from a Greek source, with a slight deviation. But why should the Romans grant to Plautus and Cæcilius a privilege denied to Virgil and Varius? Why should I be envied, if I have it in my power to acquire a few words, when the language of Cato and Ennius has enriched our native tongue, and produced new names of things? It has been, and ever will be, allowable to coin a word marked with the stamp in present request. As leaves in the woods are changed with the fleeting years; the earliest fall off first: in this manner words perish with old age, and those lately invented flourish and thrive, like men in the time of youth. We, and our works, are doomed to death: whether Neptune,[9] admitted into the continent, defends our fleets from the north winds, a kingly work; or the lake, for a long time unfertile and fit for oars, now maintains its neighbouring cities and feels the heavy plough; or the river, taught to run in a more convenient

[8] *Cinctutis.* Having the tunic tightened by the cinctus, or wearing the cinctus instead of the tunic, as appears to have been the custom of the ancient Romans. This was a vest which passed round the waist, and extended down to the feet. That it was an ancient vesture may appear from its being used by the Luperci. Comp. Ovid. Fast. v. 101. As it did not embarrass the motion of the arms, even after the tunic became part of the dress, it was sometimes substituted for it by those who had occasion to use much bodily exertion. Hence *cinctutis* is supposed by some to have a meaning here similar to that of *succinctus*, "active, industrious." Others explain the word as referring to that arrangement of the toga called "cinctus Gabinus." M'CAUL.

[9] Agrippa opened a communication between the Lucrine and Avernian Lakes in 717, and built a magnificent haven there, which he named Portius Julius, in honour of Augustus, who was at that time only called Julius Octavianus. SAN.

channel, has changed its course which was so destructive[10] to the fruits. Mortal works must perish: much less can the honour and elegance of language be long-lived. Many words shall revive,[11] which now have fallen off; and many which are now in esteem shall fall off, if it be the will of custom, in whose power is the decision and right and standard of language.

Homer has instructed us in what measure the achievements[12] of kings, and chiefs, and direful war might be written.

Plaintive strains originally were appropriated to the unequal numbers [of the elegiac]:[13] afterwards [love and] successful desires were included. Yet what author first published humble[14] elegies, the critics dispute, and the controversy still waits the determination of the judge.

[10] The Scholiast informs us, that Agrippa opened a canal to receive the waters of the Tiber, which had overflowed the country.

[11] This revival of old words is one of those niceties in composition, not to be attempted by any but great masters. It may be done two ways: 1. by restoring such terms as are grown entirely obsolete; or 2. by selecting out of those which have still a currency, and are not quite laid aside, such as are most forcible and expressive. These choice words, amongst such as are still in use, I take to be those which are employed by the old writers in some peculiarly strong and energetic sense, yet so as with good advantage to be copied by the moderns, without appearing barbarous or affected. (See Hor. lib. ii. ep. ii. v. 115.) The other use of old terms, i. e. when become obsolete, he says, must be made *parcè*, more sparingly. HURD.

[12] The purport of these lines, (from v. 73 to 86,) and their connexion with what follows, hath not been fully seen. They would express this general proposition, "That the several kinds of poetry essentially differ from each other, as may be gathered, not solely from their different subjects, but their different measures; which good sense, and an attention to the peculiar natures of each, instructed the great inventors and masters of them to employ." The use made of this proposition is to infer, "That therefore the like attention should be had to the different species of the same kind of poetry, (v. 89, &c.,) as in the case of tragedy and comedy, (to which the application is made,) whose peculiar differences and correspondences, as resulting from the natures of each, should, in agreement to the universal law of decorum, be exactly known and diligently observed by the poet." HURD.

[13] Elegy was at first only a lamentation for the death of a person beloved, and probably arose from the death of Adonis. It was afterwards applied to the joys and griefs of lovers. TORR.

[14] The pentameter, which Horace calls "exiguum," because it has a foot less than the hexameter. For the same reason he says, "versibus impariter junctis." DAC.

Rage armed Archilochus with the iambic of his own invention. The sock and the majestic buskin assumed this measure as adapted for dialogue, and to silence the noise of the populace, and calculated for action.

To celebrate gods, and the sons of gods, and the victorious wrestler, and the steed foremost in the race, and the inclination of youths, and the free joys of wine, the muse has allotted to the lyre.

If I am incapable and unskilful to observe the distinction described, and the complexions of works [of genius], why am I accosted by the name of 'Poet?' Why, out of false modesty, do I prefer being ignorant to being learned?

A comic subject will not be handled in tragic verse:[15] in like manner the banquet of Thyestes will not bear to be held in familiar verses, and such as almost suit the sock. Let

[15] *Indignatur item, &c.—Cœna Thyestæ.* "Il met le souper de Thyeste pour toutes sortes de tragedies," says M. Dacier, with whom agrees the whole band of commentators: but why this subject should be singled out, as the representative of the rest, is no where explained by any of them. We may be sure, it was not taken up at random. The reason was, that the Thyestes of Ennius was peculiarly chargeable with the fault here censured; as is plain from a curious passage in the Orator, where Cicero, speaking of the loose numbers of certain poets, observes this, in particular, of the tragedy of Thyestes, "Similia sunt quædam apud nostros: velut in Thyeste,

Quemnam te esse dicam? qui tardâ in senectute,

et quæ sequuntur: quæ, nisi cùm tibicen accesserit, oratione sunt solutæ simillimæ:" which character exactly agrees to this of Horace, wherein the language of that play is censured, as flat and prosaic, and hardly rising above the plain narrative of an ordinary conversation in comedy. This allusion to a particular play, written by one of their best poets, and frequently exhibited on the Roman stage, gives great force and spirit to the precept, at the same time that it exemplifies it in the happiest manner. It seems further probable to me, that the poet also designed an indirect compliment to Varius, whose Thyestes we are told (Quinctil. l. x. c. 1) was not inferior to any tragedy of the Greeks. This double intention of these lines well suited to the poet's general aim, which is seen through all his critical works, of beating down the excessive admiration of the old poets, and of asserting and advancing the just honours of the deserving moderns. It may further be observed, that the critics have not felt the force of the words *exponi* and *narrari* in this precept. They are admirably chosen to express the two faults condemned: the first implying a kind of pomp and ostentation in the language, which is therefore improper for the low subjects of comedy; and the latter, as I have hinted, a flat, prosaic expression, not above the cast of a common narrative, and therefore equally unfit for tragedy. HURD.

each peculiar species [of writing] fill with decorum its proper place. Nevertheless sometimes even comedy exalts her voice, and passionate Chremes rails in a tumid strain: and a tragic writer generally expresses grief in a prosaic style. Telephus and Peleus, when they are both in poverty and exile, throw aside their rants and gigantic expressions if they have a mind to move the heart of the spectator with their complaint.

It is not enough, that poems be beautiful;[16] let them be tender and affecting, and bear away the soul of the auditor whithersoever they please. As the human countenance smiles on those that smile, so does it sympathize with those that weep. If you would have me weep you must first express the passion of grief yourself; then, Telephus or Peleus, your misfortunes hurt me: if you pronounce the parts assigned you ill, I shall either fall asleep or laugh.

Pathetic accents suit a melancholy countenance; words full of menace, an angry one; wanton expressions, a sportive look; and serious matter, an austere one. For nature forms us first within to every modification of circumstances; she delights or impels us to anger, or depresses us to the earth and afflicts us with heavy sorrow: then expresses those emotions of the mind by the tongue, its interpreter. If the words be discordant to the station of the speaker, the Roman knights and plebeians will raise an immoderate laugh. It will make a wide difference, whether it be Davus that speaks, or a hero; a man well-stricken in years, or a hot young fellow in his bloom; and a matron of distinction, or an officious nurse; a roaming merchant, or the cultivator of a verdant little farm; a Colchian, or an Assyrian; one educated at Thebes, or one at Argos.

You, that write, either follow tradition,[17] or invent such

[16] *Non satis est pulchra*, &c. Bentley objects to *pulchra* because this, he says, is a general term including under it every species of beauty, and therefore that of *dulcis* or the affecting. As if general terms were not frequently restrained and determined to a peculiar sense by the context. But the great critic did not sufficiently attend to the connexion, which, as F. Robertellus, in his paraphrase on the epistle, well observes, stands thus: "It is not enough, that tragedies have that kind of beauty which arises from a pomp and splendour of diction, they must also be pathetic or affecting." HURD.

[17] The connexion lies thus: language must agree with character; character with fame, or at least with itself. HURD.

fables as are congruous to themselves. If as a poet you have to represent the renowned Achilles; let him be indefatigable, wrathful, inexorable, courageous, let him deny that laws were made for him, let him arrogate every thing to force of arms. Let Medea be fierce and untractable, Ino an object of pity, Ixion perfidious, Io wandering, Orestes in distress.

If you offer to the stage any thing unattempted, and venture to form a new character; let it be preserved to the last[18] such as it set out at the beginning, and be consistent with itself. It is difficult to write with propriety[19] on subjects to which all writers have a common claim; and you with more prudence will reduce the Iliad into acts, than if you first introduce arguments unknown and never treated of before. A public story will become your own property,[20] if you do not dwell upon the whole circle of events, which is paltry and open to every one; nor must you be so faithful a translator, as to take the pains of rendering [the original] word for word; nor by imitating throw yourself into straits, whence either shame or the rules of your work may forbid you to retreat.

[18] The rule is, as appears from the reason of the thing, and from Aristotle, "Let a uniformity of character be preserved, or at least a consistency:" i. e. either let the manners be exactly the same from the beginning to the end of the play, as those of Medea, for instance, and Orestes; or, if any change be necessary, let it be such as may consist with, and be easily reconciled to, the manners formerly attributed, as is seen in the case of Electra and Iphigenia. HURD.

[19] *Difficile est propriè communia dicere.* Lambin's comment is, "Communia hoc loco appellat Horatius argumenta fabularum à nullo adhuc tractata: et ita, quæ cuivis exposita sunt et in medio quodammodo posita, quasi vacua et à nemine occupata." And that this is the true meaning of *communia* is evidently fixed by the words *ignota indictaque*, which are explanatory of it. HURD.

[20] *Publica materies* is just the reverse of what the poet had before styled *communia*: the latter meaning such subjects or characters as, though by their nature left in common to all, had yet, in fact, not been occupied by any writer; the former, those which had already been made public by occupation. In order to acquire a property in subjects of this sort, the poet directs us to observe the three following cautions: 1. Not to follow the trite, obvious round of the original work; i. e. not servilely and scrupulously to adhere to its plan or method. 2. Not to be translators, instead of imitators; i. e. if it shall be thought fit to imitate more expressly any part of the original, to do it with freedom and spirit, and without a slavish attachment to the mode of expression. 3. Not to adopt any particular incident that may occur in the proposed model, which either decency or the nature of the work would reject. HURD.

Nor must you make such an exordium, as the Cyclic[21] writer of old: "I will sing the fate of Priam, and the noble war." What will this boaster produce worthy of all this gaping? The mountains are in labour, a ridiculous mouse will be brought forth. How much more to the purpose he, who attempts nothing improperly? "Sing for me, my muse, the man who, after the time of the destruction of Troy, surveyed the manners and cities of many men." He meditates not [to produce] smoke from a flash, but out of smoke to elicit fire, that he may thence bring forth his instances of the marvellous with beauty, [such as] Antiphates, Scylla, the Cyclops, and Charybdis. Nor does he date Diomede's return from Meleager's death, nor trace the rise of the Trojan war from [Leda's] eggs: he always hastens on to the event: and hurries away his reader into the midst of interesting circumstances, no otherwise than as if they were [already] known; and what he despairs of, as to receiving a polish from his touch, he omits; and in such a manner forms his fictions, so intermingles the false with the true, that the middle is not inconsistent with the beginning, nor the end with the middle.

Do you attend to what I, and the public in my opinion, expect from you [as a dramatic writer]. If you are desirous of an applauding spectator, who will wait for [the falling of] the curtain, and till the chorus calls out "your plaudits;" the manners of every age must be marked by you, and a proper decorum assigned to men's varying dispositions and years. The boy, who is just able to pronounce his words, and prints the ground with a firm tread, delights to play with his fellows, and contracts and lays aside anger without reason, and is subject to change every hour. The beardless youth, his guardian being at length discharged, joys in horses, and dogs, and the verdure of the sunny Campus Martius; pliable as wax to the bent of vice, rough to advisers, a slow provider of useful things, prodigal of his money, high-spirited, and amorous, and hasty in deserting the objects of his passion. [After

[21] *Scriptor cyclicus.* Some author of the *cyclus*, described above, 1, 132. *The chief Cyclic poems are the following: 1. τὰ Κύπρια, of Stasinus or Hegesinus. 2. The Αἰθιοπίς of Arctinus. 3. The Ἰλιὰς μικρά, by Lesches. 4. The Ἰλίου πέρσις of Arctinus. 5. The Νόστοι attributed to Agias. 6. The Τηλεγονία of Eugammon. These were collected, more for the sake of philology than poetry, by the Alexandrine grammarians. M'CAUL.

this,] our inclinations being changed, the age and spirit of manhood seeks after wealth, and [high] connexions, is subservient to points of honour; and is cautious of committing any action, which he would subsequently be industrious to correct. Many inconveniences encompass a man in years; either because he seeks [eagerly] for gain,[22] and abstains from what he has gotten, and is afraid to make use of it: or because he transacts every thing in a timorous and dispassionate manner, dilatory, slow in hope, remiss, and greedy of futurity. Peevish, querulous, a panegyrist of former times when he was a boy, a chastiser and censurer of his juniors. Our advancing years[23] bring many advantages along with them. Many our declining ones take away. That the parts [therefore] belonging to age may not be given to a youth, and those of a man to a boy, we must dwell upon those qualities which are joined and adapted to each person's age.[24]

An action is either represented on the stage, or being done elsewhere is there related. The things which enter by the ear affect the mind more languidly, than such as are submitted to the faithful eyes, and what a spectator presents to himself. You must not, however, bring upon the stage things fit only to be acted behind the scenes: and you must take away from view many actions, which elegant description[25] may soon after deliver in presence [of the spectators]. Let not Medea murder her sons before the people; nor the execrable Atreus openly dress human entrails: nor let Progne be metamorphosed into a bird, Cadmus into a serpent. Whatever you show to me in this manner, not able to give credit to, I detest.

[22] "Quærit"="quæstus facit," as in Virg. Georg. i. "In medium quærebant."

[23] He returns to his first division of human life into two parts. "Anni venientes," the years preceding manhood; "anni recedentes," the years going back towards old age and death. The ancients reckoned the former by addition: the latter by subtraction. The French have an expression like this of "recedentes anni." They say, "est sur son retour," "he is upon his return," when a person is declining in years. Dac.

[24] *Semper in adjunctis.* "Adjuncta ævo," every thing which attends age; "apta ævo," every thing proper to it.

[25] *Facundia præsens.* The recital of an actor present, which ought to be made with all the pathetic; "facundia;" or a recital instead of the action, "facundia facti vicaria, quæ rem quasi oculis præsentem sistit." Dac.

Let a play which would be inquired after, and though seen, represented anew, be neither shorter nor longer than the fifth act. Neither let a god interfere, unless a difficulty worthy a god's unravelling should happen; nor let a fourth person be officious to speak.[26]

Let the chorus[27] sustain the part and manly[28] character of an actor: nor let them sing any thing between the acts which is not conducive to, and fitly coherent with, the main design. Let them both patronize the good,[29] and give them friendly

[26] The poet does not forbid a fourth person to speak, but would have him say very little, as the Scholiast understands the precept. Indeed, a conversation of three people is most agreeable, because it is less confused and less divides the attention of an audience. RODELL.

[27] The chorus was not introduced between the acts, merely to relieve the audience, but had a part in the play, and concurred with the other actors to carry on the plot, and support the probability of it. The Choriphæus, or first person of the chorus, entered in the acts, and spoke for all those of whom the chorus was composed; "officiumque virile defendat." The chorus filled up the intervals of the acts with their songs, which were composed of reflections upon what was past, or their apprehensions of what might happen. FRAN.

[28] *Officiumque virile.* Heinsius takes *virile* adverbially, for *viriliter*. But this is thought harsh. What hinders, but that it may be taken adjectively? And then, agreeably to his interpretation, "officium virile" will mean a strenuous, diligent office, such as becomes a person interested in the progress of the action. The precept is levelled against the practice of those poets who, though they allow the part of a *persona dramatis* to the chorus, yet for the most part make it so idle and insignificant a one, as is of little consequence in the representation; by which means the advantage of probability, intended to be drawn from this use of the chorus, is, in great measure, forfeited. HURD.

[29] The chorus, says the poet, is to take the side of the good and virtuous; i. e. (see note on v. 193), is always to sustain a moral character. But this will need some explanation and restriction. To conceive aright of its office, we must suppose the chorus to be a number of persons, by some probable cause assembled together, as witnesses and spectators of the great action of the drama. Such persons, as they cannot be wholly uninterested in what passes before them, will very naturally bear some share in the representation. This will principally consist in declaring their sentiments, and indulging their reflections freely on the several events and distresses as they shall arise. Thus we see the moral attributed to the chorus, will be no other than the dictates of plain sense; such as must be obvious to every thinking observer of the action, who is under the influence of no peculiar partialities from affection or interest. Though even these may be supposed, in cases where the character towards which they draw is represented as virtuous.

A chorus, thus constituted, must always, it is evident, take the part of virtue; because this is the natural, and almost necessary determination

advice, and regulate the passionate, and love to appease those who swell [with rage]:[30] let them praise the repast of a short meal, the salutary effects of justice, laws, and peace with her open gates: let them conceal what is told to them in confidence,[31] and supplicate and implore the gods that prosperity may return to the wretched, and abandon the haughty. The flute,[32] (not as now, begirt with brass and emulous of

of mankind, in all ages and nations, when acting freely and unconstrained. HURD.

[30] I read "pacare tumentes," with Bentley, Orelli, and others.

[31] The Choriphæus was present through the whole play, and was often necessarily intrusted with the secrets of the persons of the drama. To preserve the probability, the poets chose a chorus, that was obliged by their own interest to keep those secrets, and without acting contrary to their duty. Euripides hath greatly offended against this precept. DAC.

[32] *Tibia non ut nunc orichalco*, &c. (From v. 202 to v. 220.) This is one of those many passages in the epistle about which the critics have said a great deal, without explaining any thing. In support of what I mean to offer, as the true interpretation, I observe,

I. That the poet's intention certainly was, not to censure the false refinements of their stage music; but, in a short digressive history, (such as the didactic form will sometimes require,) to describe the rise and progress of the true. This I collect, 1. From the expression itself, which cannot, without violence, be understood in any other way. For, as to the words *licentia* and *præceps*, which have occasioned much of the difficulty, the first means a freer use, not a licentiousness properly so called; and the other only expresses a vehemence and rapidity of language, naturally productive of a quicker elocution, such as must of course attend the more numerous harmony of the lyre: not, as M. Dacier translates it, "une eloquence temeraire et outrée," an extravagant straining and affectation of style. 2. From the reason of the thing, which makes it incredible that the music of the theatre should then be most complete, when the times were barbarous, and entertainments of this kind little encouraged or understood. 3. From the character of that music itself; for the rudeness of which, Horace, in effect, apologizes, in defending it only on the score of the imperfect state of the stage, and the simplicity of its judges. This then being clear, I observe,

II. That those two verses,

> "Indoctus quid enim saperet liberque laborum,
> Rusticus urbano confusus, turpis honesto?"

are, as they now stand, utterly inexplicable. This hath appeared long since, from the fruitless labours of the critics, and, above all, of Lambin, one of the best of them, who, after several repeated efforts to elucidate this place, leaves it just as dark and unintelligible as he found it. The interpretation, without them, stands thus: "The tibia," says the poet, "was at first low and simple. The first, as best agreeing to the then state of the stage, which required only a soft music to go along with and assist the chorus, there being no large and crowded theatres to fill in

the trumpet, but) slender and of simple form, with few stops, was of service to accompany and assist the chorus, and with its tone was sufficient to fill the rows that were not as yet too crowded, where an audience, easily numbered, as being small and sober, chaste and modest, met together. But when the victorious Romans began to extend their territories, and an ampler wall encompassed the city, and their genius was indulged on festivals by drinking wine in the day-time without censure; a greater freedom arose both to the numbers [of poetry], and the measure [of music].[33] For what taste could an unlettered clown and one just dismissed from labours have,

those days. And the latter, as suiting best to the then state of the times, whose simplicity and frugal manners exacted the severest temperance, as in every thing else, so in their dramatic ornaments and decorations. But, when conquest had enlarged the territory and widened the walls of Rome, and, in consequence thereof, a social spirit had dispelled that severity of manners, by the introduction of frequent festival solemnities, then, as was natural to expect, a freer and more varied harmony took place. And thus it was, that the *tibicen*, the musician who played to the declamation in the acts, instead of the rude and simpler strain of the old times, gave a richness and variety of tone; and instead of the old inactive posture, added the grace of motion to his art. Just in the same manner," continues he, "it happened to the lyre, i. e. the music in the chorus, which originally, as that of the *tibia*, was severe and simple; but, by degrees, acquired a quicker and more expressive modulation, such as corresponded to the more elevated and passionate turn of the poet's style, and the diviner enthusiasm of his sentiment." HURD.

[33] *Accessit numerisque modisque licentia major.* M. Dacier is out again, when he takes *licentia major* in a bad sense, as implying "lasciveté," a culpable and licentious refinement. The licence here spoken of, with regard to numbers and sounds, like that in another place, which respects words, (l. 51,) is one of those which is allowed, when *sumpta pudenter*. The comparative *major*, which is a palliative, shows this; and is further justified by a like passage in Cicero de Oratore, (I. iii. c. 48,) where, speaking of this very licence in poetry, he observes, that out of the heroic and iambic measure, which was at first strictly observed, there arose by degrees the anapæst, "procerior quidam numerus, et ille licentior et divitior dithyrambus;" evidently not condemning this change, but opposing it to the rigorous and confined measures of the elder poet. But the expression itself occurs in the piece entitled "Orator," in which, comparing the freedoms of the poetical and oratorical style, "in eâ," (i. e. poeticâ,) says he, "licentiam statuo majorem esse, quàm in nobis faciendorum jungendorumque verborum." The poet says this licence extended "numeris modisque," the former of which words will express that licence of metre spoken of by Cicero, and which is further explained, v. 256, &c., where an account is given of the improvement of the iambic verse. HURD.

when in company with the polite; the base, with the man of honour? Thus the musician added[34] new movements and a

[34] *Sic priscæ—arti tibicen*, &c.—*Sic fidibus etiam*, &c. This is the application of what hath been said, in general, concerning the refinement of theatrical music to the case of tragedy. Some commentators say, and to comedy. But in this they mistake, as will appear presently. M. Dacier hath I know not what conceit about a comparison betwixt the Roman and Greek stage. His reason is, that the lyre was used in the Greek chorus, as appears, he says, from Sophocles playing upon this instrument himself in one of his tragedies. And was it not used too in the Roman chorus, as appears from Nero's playing upon it in several tragedies? But the learned critic did not apprehend this matter. Indeed, from the caution with which his guides, the dealers in antiquities, always touch this point, it should seem that they too had no very clear conceptions of it. The case I take to have been this: the tibia, as being most proper to accompany the declamation of the acts, *cantanti succinere*, was constantly employed, as well in the Roman tragedy as comedy. This appears from many authorities. I mention only two from Cicero. "Quam multa (Acad. 1. ii. 7.) quæ nos fugiunt in cantu, exaudiunt in eo genere exercitati: Qui, primo inflatu tibicinis, Antiopam esse aiunt aut Andromachem, cùm nos ne suspicemur quidem." The other is still more express. In his piece entitled "Orator," speaking of the negligence of the Roman writers in respect of numbers, he observes, that there were even many passages in their tragedies, which, unless the tibia played to them, could not be distinguished from mere prose: "quæ nisi cùm tibicen accesserit, orationi sint solutæ simillima." One of these passages is expressly quoted from Thyestes, a tragedy of Ennius, and, as appears from the measure, taken out of one of the acts. It is clear, then, that the tibia was certainly used in the declamation of tragedy. But now the song of the tragic chorus, being of the nature of the ode, of course required *fides*, the lyre, the peculiar and appropriated instrument of the lyric muse. And this is clearly collected, if not from express testimonies, yet from some occasional hints dropped by the ancients. For, 1. the lyre, we are told, (Cic. de Leg. ii. 9 and 15,) and is agreed on all hands, was an instrument of the Roman theatre; but it was not employed in comedy. This we certainly know from the short accounts of the music prefixed to Terence's plays. 2. Further, the *tibicen*, as we saw, accompanied the declamation of the acts in tragedy. It remains, then, that the proper place of the lyre was, where one should naturally look for it, in the songs of the chorus; but we need not go further than this very passage for a proof. It is unquestionable, that the poet is here speaking of the chorus only, the following lines not admitting any other possible interpretation. By *fidibus*, then, is necessarily understood the instrument peculiarly used in it. In this view, the whole digression is more pertinent and connects better. The poet had before been speaking of tragedy. All his directions, from l. 100, respect this species of the drama only. The application of what he had said concerning music is then most naturally made, 1. to the *tibia*, the music of the acts; and, 2. to *fides*, that of the choir: thus confining himself, as the tenor of this part required, to tragedy only. Hence is seen the mistake, not only of M. Dacier, whose comment is in every

luxuriance to the ancient art, and strutting backward and forward, drew a length of train over the stage: thus likewise new notes were added to the severity of the lyre, and precipitate eloquence produced an unusual language [in the theatre]: and the sentiments [of the chorus, then] expert in teaching useful things and prescient of futurity, differ hardly from the oracular Delphi.[35]

The poet, who first tried his skill in tragic verse for the paltry [prize of a] goat, soon after exposed to view wild satyrs naked,[36] and attempted raillery with severity, still preserving the gravity [of tragedy]: because the spectator on festivals, when heated with wine[37] and disorderly, was to be

view insupportable; but, as was hinted, of Heinsius, Lambin, and others, who, with more probability, explained this of the Roman tragedy and comedy. For, though *tibia* might be allowed to stand for comedy, as opposed to *tragœdia*, (as, in fact, we find it in II. Ep. 1. 98,) that being the only instrument employed in it; yet, in speaking expressly of the music of the stage, *fides* could not determinately enough, and in contradistinction to *tibia*, denote that of tragedy, it being an instrument used solely or principally in the chorus, of which, the context shows, he alone speaks. It is further to be observed, that in the application here made, besides the music, the poet takes in the other improvements of the tragic chorus, these happening, as from the nature of the thing they must, at the same time. HURD.

[35] *Sententia Delphis.* *Sententia* is properly an aphorism taken from life, briefly representing either what is or what ought to be the conduct of it: "Oratio sumpta de vitâ, quæ aut quid sit aut quid esse oporteat in vitâ, breviter ostendit." (Ad Herenn. Rhet. l. iv.) These aphorisms are here mentioned, as constituting the peculiar praise and beauty of the chorus. This is finely observed, and was intended to convey an oblique censure on the practice of those poets, who stuff out every part of the drama alike with moral sentences, not considering that the only proper receptacle of them is the chorus, where indeed they have an extreme propriety, it being the peculiar office and character of the chorus to moralize. HURD.

[36] There was a kind of tragic comedies among the Greeks, which they called Satyrs, because the chorus was formed of Satyrs, who sung the praises of Bacchus between the acts, and said a thousand low pleasantries. The only piece of this kind remaining to us is the Cyclops of Euripides, in which Ulysses is the principal actor. The Romans, in imitation of the Greek Satyrs, had their *Atellanæ*, so called from *Atella*, the city where they were first played. NAN.

[37] *Potus et exlex.* The lines,

> "Indoctus quid enim saperet liberque laborum
> Rusticus urbano confusus, turpis honesto?"

were, I observed, certainly misplaced. They should, I think, come in here, where their sense is extremely pertinent. The poet had been speaking of the satyric drama, which, says he, was added to the tragic,

amused with captivating shows and agreeable novelty. But it will be expedient so to recommend the bantering, so the rallying satyrs, so to turn earnest into jest; that none who shall be exhibited as a god, none who is introduced as a hero lately[38] conspicuous in regal purple and gold, may deviate into the low style of obscure, mechanical shops; or, [on the contrary,] while he avoids the ground, affect cloudy mist and empty jargon. Tragedy[39] disdaining to prate forth trivial verses, like a matron commanded to dance on the festival days,[40]

> "eò quòd
> Illecebris erat, et gratâ novitate morandus
> Spectator, functusque sacris, et potus, et exlex."

But why, it might be asked, this compliance, in so false a taste, with a drunken, lawless rabble? The answer is natural, and to the purpose. "Because their theatres necessarily consisted of a mixed assembly, every part of which was to be considered in the public diversions." The question then hath an extreme propriety,

> "Indoctus quid enim saperet liberque laborum,
> Rusticus urbano confusus, turpis honesto?"

The *rusticus* and *turpis* demanded the satyric piece. It was the necessary result of this mixture; as, to gratify the better sort, the *urbanus* and *honestus*, the tragic drama was exhibited. It is some prejudice in favour of this conjecture, that it explains to us, what would otherwise appear very strange, that such gross ribaldry, as we know the Atellanes consisted of, could ever be endured by the politest age of Rome. But scenical representations being then intended, not as in our days, for the entertainment of the better sort, but on certain great solemnities, indifferently for the diversion of the whole city, it became necessary to consult the taste of the multitude, as well as of those, *quibus est equus et pater et res*. HURD.

[38] This proves that the same actor, as M. Dacier observes, who had been an Orestes or Ulysses in the tragic part, played the same character in the comic, or, *Atellanæ*. Thus Plautus in the prologue to his Menechmes, "this town, during this play, shall be Epidamnum, and when it has been acted, it may be any other city. As in a company of players, the same person shall, at different times, be a pander, a youth, an old man, a beggar, a king, a parasite, a soothsayer." St. Jerome hath finely imitated this passage; "our vices oblige us to play many characters, for every vice wears a different mask. Thus in a theatre, the same person plays a robust and nervous Hercules, a dissolute Venus, and a furious Cyclops." FRAN.

[39] *Indigna tragœdia versus*. Horace means the *Atellanæ*, which were in so much esteem, that the persons, who acted in them, were not ranked with the comedians, nor were obliged to unmask on the stage when they played ill, as others were; and, as a peculiar honour, they were allowed to enlist in the army. Therefore low and trivial verses were beneath the dignity of the *Atellanæ*. DAC.

[40] Young women were usually chosen to dance in honour of the gods, but in some festivals, as in that of the great goddess, the pontiffs obliged married women to dance. Hence the poet says *jussa*. DAC.

will assume an air of modesty, even in the midst of wanton satyrs. As a writer of satire, ye Pisos, I shall never be fond of unornamented and reigning terms:[41] nor shall I labour to differ so widely from the complexion of tragedy, as to make no distinction, whether Davus be the speaker. And the bold Pythias, who gained a talent by gulling Simo; or Silenus, the guardian and attendant of his pupil-god [Bacchus]. I would so execute a fiction[42] taken from a well-known story, that any body might entertain hopes of doing the same thing; but, on trial, should sweat and labour in vain. Such power has a just arrangement and connexion of the parts: such grace may be added to subjects merely common. In my judgment the Fauns, that are brought out of the woods, should not be too gamesome with their tender strains, as if they were educated in the city, and almost at the bar; nor, on the other hand, should blunder out their obscene and scandalous speeches. For [at such stuff] all are offended, who have a horse,[43] a father, or an estate: nor will they receive with

[41] *Dominantia verba.* What the Greeks call κύρια, as if they were masters of the thing they would express; as we say in English, "calling things by their proper names." FRAN.

[42] This precept (from v. 240 to 244) is analogous to that before given (v. 129) concerning tragedy. It directs to form the Satyrs out of a known subject. The reasons are, in general, the same for both. Only one seems peculiar to the Satyrs. For, the cast of them being necessarily romantic, and the persons those fantastic beings called satyrs, the τὸ ὅμοιον, or probable, will require the subject to have gained a popular belief, without which the representation must appear unnatural. Now, these subjects which have gained a popular belief, in consequence of old tradition, and their frequent celebration in the poets, are what Horace calls *nota*; just as newly invented subjects, or, which comes to the same thing, such as had not been employed by other writers, *indicta*, he, on a like occasion, terms *ignota*. The connexion lies thus. Having mentioned Silenus in v. 239, one of the commonest characters in this drama, an objection immediately offers itself; "But what good poet will engage in subjects and characters so trite and hackneyed?" The answer is, "ex noto fictum carmen sequar," i. e. however trite and well known this and some other characters, essential to the Satyr, are and must be; yet will there be still room for fiction and genius to show itself. The conduct and disposition of the play may be wholly new, and above the ability of common writers, "tantum series juncturaque pollet." HURD.

[43] *Quibus est equus*, &c., the knights who have a horse, kept at public expense; "quibus est pater," people of birth, patricians; "quibus est res," they who have wealth, and are therefore distinguished from knights and patricians. DAC.

approbation, nor give the laurel crown, as the purchasers of parched peas and nuts are delighted with.

A long syllable put after a short one is termed an iambus, a lively measure, whence also it commanded the name of trimeters to be added to iambics, though it yielded six beats of time, being similar to itself from first to last. Not long ago, that it might come somewhat slower and with more majesty to the ear, it obligingly and contentedly admitted into its paternal heritage the stedfast spondees; agreeing however, by social league, that it was not to depart from the second[44] and fourth place. But this [kind of measure] rarely makes its appearance in the notable[45] trimeters of Accius, and brands the verse of Ennius brought upon the stage with a clumsy weight of spondees, with the imputation of being too precipitate and careless, or disgracefully accuses him of ignorance in his art.

It is not every judge that discerns inharmonious verses, and an undeserved indulgence is [in this case] granted to the Roman poets. But shall I on this account run riot and write licentiously? Or should not I rather suppose, that all the world are to see my faults; secure, and cautious [never to err] but with hope of being pardoned? Though, perhaps, I have merited no praise, I have escaped censure.

Ye [who are desirous to excel], turn over the Grecian models by night, turn them by day. But our ancestors commended both the numbers of Plautus, and his strokes of pleasantry; too tamely, I will not say foolishly, admiring each of them; if you and I but know how to distinguish a coarse joke from a smart repartee, and understand the proper cadence, by [using] our fingers and ears.

Thespis[46] is said to have invented a new kind of tragedy,

[44] The iambic yields only the odd places to the spondee, the first, third, and fifth, but preserves the second, fourth, and sixth for itself. This mixture renders the verse more noble, and it may be still *trimeter*, the second foot being iambic. The comic poets, better to disguise their verse, and make it appear more like common conversation, inverted the tragic order, and put spondees in the even places. Dac.

[45] Ironically spoken.

[46] *Thespis.* A native of Icarius, a village in Attica, to whom the invention of the drama has been ascribed. Before his time there were no performers except the chorus. He led the way to the formation of a dramatic plot and language, by directing a pause in the performance of

and to have carried his pieces about in carts, which [certain strollers], who had their faces besmeared with lees of wine, sang and acted. After him Æschylus, the inventor of the vizard mask and decent robe, laid the stage over with boards of a tolerable size, and taught to speak in lofty tone, and strut in the buskin. To these succeeded the old comedy, not without considerable praise: but its personal freedom degenerated into excess and violence, worthy to be regulated by law; a law was made accordingly, and the chorus, the right of abusing being taken away, disgracefully became silent.

Our poets have left no species [of the art] unattempted; nor have those of them merited the least honour, who dared to forsake the footsteps of the Greeks, and celebrate domestic facts; whether they have instructed us in tragedy, or comedy.[47] Nor would Italy be raised higher by valour

the chorus, during which he came forward and recited with gesticulation a mythological story. Comp. note Epist. ii. l. 163. M'CAUL. The date is thus given by the Par. Chron. Boeckh.: *Ἀφ᾽οὗ Θέσπις ὁ ποιητὴς [ἐφάνη], πρῶτος ὃς ἐδίδαξε [δρ]ᾶ[μα ἐν ἄ]στ[ει καὶ ἐ]τέθη ὁ [τ]ράγος [ἆθλον] ἔτη* HHΠ[ΔΔ] - *ἄρχοντος Ἀθ[ήνησι]... ναίου τοῦ προτέρου.* "Quod ad annum attinet, consistendum sane in Olymp. 61, eiusque tribus prioribus annis." Boeckh. in Chr. WHEELER.

[47] *Vel qui prætextas, vel qui docuere togatas.* There hath been much difficulty here in settling a very plain point. The question is, whether *prætextas* means tragedy or a species of comedy. The answer is very clear from Diomedes, whose account is, in short, this: "*Togatæ* is a general term for all sorts of Latin plays adopting the Roman customs and dresses; as *Palliatæ* is for all adopting the Grecian. Of the *Togatæ*, the several species are, 1. *Prætexta* or *prætextata*, in which the Roman kings or generals were introduced, and is so called because the *prætexta* was the distinguishing habit of such persons. 2. *Tabernaria*, frequently called *Togata*, though that word, as we have seen, had properly a larger sense. 3. *Atellana*. 4. *Planipedis*." He next marks the difference of these several sorts of the *Togatæ* from the similar, corresponding ones of the *Palliatæ*, which are these: 1. "Tragœdia, absolutely so styled. 2. Comœdia. 3. Satyri. 4. Mῖμος." (These four sorts of the *Palliatæ* were also probably in use at Rome; certainly, at least, the two former.) It appears then from thence, that *prætextata* was properly the Roman tragedy. But he adds, "*Togata prætextata à tragœdiâ differt;*" and it is also said "*to be only like tragedy, tragœdiæ similis.*" What is this difference and this likeness? The explanation follows. "Heroes are introduced in tragedy, such as Orestes, Chryses, and the like. In the *prætextata*, Brutus, Decius, or Marcellus." So then we see when Græcian characters were introduced, it was called simply *tragœdia;* when Roman, *prætextata;* yet both, tragedies. The sole difference lay in the persons being foreign or domestic. The correspondence in every other respect

and feats of arms, than by its language, did not the fatigue and tediousness of using the file disgust every one of our poets. Do you, the descendants of Pompilius, reject that poem, which many days and many a blot have not ten times subdued to the most perfect accuracy. Because Democritus believes that genius is more successful than wretched art, and excludes from Helicon all poets who are in their senses, a great number do not care to part with their nails or beard, frequent places of solitude, shun the baths. For he will acquire, [he thinks,] the esteem and title of a poet, if he neither submits his head, which is not to be cured by even three Anticyras, to Licinius the barber. What an unlucky fellow am I, who am purged for the bile in spring-time! Else nobody would compose better poems; but the purchase is not worth the expense. Therefore I will serve instead of a whetstone, which though not able of itself to cut, can make steel sharp: so I, who can write no poetry myself, will teach the duty and business [of an author]; whence he may be stocked with rich materials; what nourishes and forms the poet; what gives grace, what not; what is the tendency of excellence, what that of error.

To have good sense, is the first principle and fountain of writing well. The Socratic papers will direct you in the choice of your subjects; and words will spontaneously accompany the subject, when it is well conceived. He who has learned what he owes to his country, and what to his friends; with what affection a parent, a brother, and a stranger, are to be loved; what is the duty of a senator, what of a judge; what the duties of a general sent out to war; he, [I say,] certainly knows how to give suitable attributes to every character. I should direct the learned imitator to have a regard to the mode of nature and manners, and thence draw his expressions to the life.[48] Sometimes a play, that is showy with

was exact. The same is observed of the Roman comedy; when it adopted Greek characters, it was called *comœdia*; when Roman, *togata tabernaria*, or *togata*, simply. HURD.

[48] Truth, in poetry, means such an expression, as conforms to the general nature of things; falsehood, that which, however suitable to the particular instance in view, doth yet not correspond to such general nature. To attain to this truth of expression in dramatic poetry two things are prescribed: 1. A diligent study of the Socratic philosophy; and, 2. A masterly knowledge and comprehension of human life. The first, be-

common-places,[49] and where the manners are well marked, though of no elegance, without force or art, gives the people much higher delight and more effectually commands their attention, than verse void of matter, and tuneful trifles.

To the Greeks, covetous of nothing but praise, the muse gave genius; to the Greeks the power of expressing themselves in round periods. The Roman youth learn by long computation to subdivide a pound into an hundred parts. Let the son of Albinus tell me, if from five ounces one be subtracted, what remains? He would have said the third of a pound.—Bravely done! you will be able to take care of your own affairs. An ounce is added: what will that be?

cause it is the peculiar distinction of this school "ad veritatem vitæ propius accedere." (Cic. de Or. i. 51.) And the latter as rendering the imitation more universally striking. HURD.

[49] *Interdum speciosa locis*, &c. The poet's science in ethics will principally show itself in these two ways: 1. in furnishing proper matter for general reflection on human life and conduct; and, 2, in a due adjustment of the manners. By the former of these two applications of moral knowledge a play becomes, what the poet calls, *speciosa locis*, i. e. (for the term is borrowed from the rhetoricians,) striking in its moral topics: a merit of the highest importance on the ancient stage, and which, if prudently employed in subserviency to the latter more essential requisite of the drama, a just expression of the manners, will deserve to be so reputed at all times, and on every theatre. The danger is, lest a studied, declamatory moral, affectedly introduced, or indulged to access, should prejudice the natural exhibition of the characters, and so convert the image of human life into an unaffecting, philosophical dialogue.

*Ib. Moratque rectè fabula*, &c. This judgment of the poet, in regard of the superior efficacy of manners, is generally thought to be contradicted by Aristotle; who, in treating this subject, observes, "that let a piece be ever so perfect in the manners, sentiments, and style, it will not so well answer the end and purpose of tragedy, as if defective in these, and finished only in the fable and composition." M. Dacier thinks to clear this matter by saying, "that what Aristotle remarks holds true of tragedy, but not of comedy, of which alone Horace is here speaking." But granting that the artificial contexture of the fable is less necessary to the perfection of comedy than of tragedy, yet, the tenor of this whole division, exhorting to correctness in general, makes it unquestionable, that Horace must intend to include both. The case, as it seems to me, is this. The poet is not comparing the respective importance of the fable and manners, but of the manners and diction, under this word including also numbers. He gives them the preference not to a good plot, nor even to fine sentiments, but to *versus inopes rerum nugæque canoræ*. The art he speaks of, is the art of expressing the thoughts properly, gracefully, and harmoniously: the *pondus* is the force and energy of good versification. *Venus* is a general term including both kinds of beauty. *Fabula* does not mean the fable, (in distinction from the rest,) but simply a play. HURD.

Half a pound. When this sordid rust[50] and hankering after wealth has once tainted their minds, can we expect that such verses should be made as are worthy of being anointed with the oil of cedar, and kept in the well-polished cypress?[51]

Poets wish either to profit or to delight; or to deliver at once both the pleasures and the necessaries of life. Whatever precepts you give, be concise; that docile minds may soon comprehend what is said, and faithfully retain it. All superfluous instructions flow from the too full memory. Let whatever is imagined for the sake of entertainment, have as much likeness to truth as possible;. let not your play demand belief for whatever [absurdities] it is inclinable [to exhibit]: nor take out of a witch's belly a living child, that she had dined upon. The tribes of the seniors rail against every thing that is void of edification: the exalted knights disregard poems which are austere. He who joins the instructive with the agreeable, carries off every vote,[52] by delighting and at the same time admonishing the reader. This book gains money for the Sosii; this crosses the sea, and continues to its renowned author a lasting duration.

Yet there are faults, which we should be ready to pardon: for neither does the string [always] form the sound which the hand and conception [of the performer] intends, but very often returns a sharp note when he demands a flat; nor will the bow always hit whatever mark it threatens. But when there

[50] *Ærugo et cura peculi cùm semel imbuerit*, &c. This love of gain, to which Horace imputes the imperfect state of the Roman poetry, hath been uniformly assigned, by the wisdom of ancient times, as the specific bane of arts and letters. Longinus and Quinctilian account, from hence, for the decay of eloquence, Galen of physic, Petronius of painting, and Pliny of the whole circle of the liberal arts. For being, as Longinus calls it, *νόσημα μικροποιὸν*, a disease which narrows and contracts the soul, it must, of course, restrain the generous efforts and expansions of genius; cramp the free powers and energies of the mind, and render it unapt to open itself to wide views, and to the projection of great, extensive designs. It is so in its consequences. For, as one says elegantly, when the passion of avarice grows general in a country, the temples of honour are soon pulled down, and all men's sacrifices are made to fortune. HURD.

[51] To preserve their books, the ancients rubbed them with oil of cedar, and kept them in cases of cypress, because these kinds of wood were not liable to corruption. NAN.

[52] *Omne tulit punctum.* Alluding to the manner of voting at the comitia by putting a point over the name of a candidate.

is a great majority of beauties in a poem, I will not be offended with a few blemishes, which either inattention has dropped, or human nature has not sufficiently provided against. What therefore [is to be determined in this matter]? As a transcriber, if he still commits the same fault though he has been reproved, is without excuse; and the harper who always blunders on the same string, is sure to be laughed at; so he who is excessively deficient becomes another Chœrilus; whom, when I find him tolerable in two or three places, I wonder at with laughter; and at the same time am I grieved whenever honest Homer grows drowsy? But it is allowable, that sleep should steal upon [the progress of] a long work.

As is painting, so is poetry: some pieces will strike you more if you stand near, and some, if you are at a greater distance: one loves the dark; another, which is not afraid of the critic's subtile judgment, chooses to be seen in the light; the one has pleased once; the other will give pleasure if ten times repeated.

O you elder of the youths, though you are framed to a right judgment by your father's instructions, and are wise in yourself, yet take this truth along with you, [and] remember it; that in certain things a medium and tolerable degree of eminence may be admitted: a counsellor and pleader at the bar of the middle rate is far removed from the merit of eloquent Messala, nor has so much knowledge of the law as Cassellius Aulus, but yet he is in request; [but] a mediocrity in poets[53] neither gods, nor men, nor [even] the booksellers' shops have endured. As at an agreeable entertainment discordant music, and muddy perfume, and poppies mixed with Sardinian[54] honey give offence, because the supper might have passed without them; so poetry, created and invented for the delight of our souls, if it comes short ever so little of the summit, sinks to the bottom.

[53] This judgment, however severe it may seem, is according to the practice of the best critics. We have a remarkable instance in the case of *Apollonius Rhodius*, who though, in the judgment of Quinctilian, the author of no contemptible poem, yet on account of that equal mediocrity which every where prevails in him, was struck out of the list of good writers by such sovereign judges of poetical merit, as Aristophanes and Aristarchus. (Quinct. L. x. c. 1.) HURD.

[54] Sardinia was full of bitter herbs, from whence the honey was bitter. White poppy seed, roasted, was mingled with honey by the ancients. NAN.

He who does not understand the game, abstains from the weapons of the Campus Martius: and the unskilful in the tennis ball, the quoit, and the troques keeps himself quiet; lest the crowded ring should raise a laugh at his expense: notwithstanding this, he who knows nothing of verses presumes to compose. Why not! He is free-born, and of a good family; above all, he is registered at an equestrian sum of monies, and clear from every vice. You, [I am persuaded,] will neither say nor do any thing in opposition to Minerva:[55] such is your judgment, such your disposition. But if ever you shall write any thing, let it be submitted to the ears of Metius [Tarpa], who is a judge, and your father's, and mine; and let it be suppressed till the ninth year, your papers being laid up within your own custody. You will have it in your power to blot out what you have not made public: a word once sent abroad can never return.

Orpheus, the priest and interpreter of the gods, deterred the savage race of men from slaughters and inhuman diet; hence said to tame tigers and furious lions: Amphion too, the builder of the Theban wall, was said to give the stones motion with the sound of his lyre, and to lead them whithersoever he would, by engaging persuasion. This was deemed wisdom of yore, to distinguish the public from private weal; things sacred from things profane; to prohibit a promiscuous commerce between the sexes; to give laws to married people: to plan out cities; to engrave laws on [tables of] wood. Thus honour accrued to divine poets, and their songs. After these, excellent Homer and Tyrtæus animated the manly mind to martial achievements with their verses. Oracles were delivered in poetry, and the economy of life pointed out, and the favour of sovereign princes was solicited by Pierian[56]

[55] *Invitâ—Minervâ.* Cicero, de Off. i. 31, explains this phrase; "adversante et repugnante naturâ." And yet the meaning here is not very evident. Does Horace say that young Piso will neither do nor say any thing contrary to his natural endowments; implying that he will not attempt poetry, as his abilities are inadequate? Or does he mean to compliment him on his capabilities, by saying that there is nothing which he will attempt, in which genius will not favour and assist him? The latter appears to be the correct interpretation. Thus the obvious meaning of *invitâ Minervâ* is—Minerva refusing her assistance, or discountenancing the attempt; and the interpretation—natural endowments refusing their assistance, or marring the effort.

[56] i. e. strains of the muses, surnamed Pierides.

strains, games were instituted, and a [cheerful] period put to the tedious labours of the day; [this I remind you of,] lest haply you should be ashamed of the lyric muse, and Apollo the god of song.

It has been made a question, whether good poetry be derived from nature or from art. For my part, I can neither conceive what study can do without a rich [natural] vein, nor what rude genius can avail of itself: so much does the one require the assistance of the other, and so amicably do they conspire [to produce the same effect]. He who is industrious to reach the wished-for goal, has done and suffered much when a boy; he has sweated and shivered with cold; he has abstained from love and wine; he who sings the Pythian strains,[57] was first a learner, and in awe of a master. But [in poetry] it is now enough for a man to say of himself; "I make admirable verses: a murrain seize the hindmost: it is scandalous for me to be outstripped, and fairly to acknowledge that I am ignorant of that which I never learned."

As a crier who collects the crowd together to buy his goods, so a poet rich in land, rich in money put out at interest, invites flatterers to come [and praise his works] for a reward. But if he be one who is well able to set out an elegant table,[58] and give security for a poor man, and relieve him when entangled in gloomy law-suits; I shall wonder if with his wealth he can distinguish a true friend from a false one. You, whether you have made, or intend to make, a present to any one, do not bring him full of joy directly to your finished verses: for then he will cry out, "Charming, excellent, judicious," he will turn pale; at some parts he will even distil the dew from his friendly eyes; he will jump about; he will beat the ground [with ecstasy]. As those who mourn at funerals for pay, do and say more than those

[57] *Pythia cantica*, songs like the hymns which were sung in honour of Apollo, by the chorus in some comedies. A player, called Pythaules, played during the intervals when the chorus left off singing.

[58] But compare M'Caul's note: "*Unctum*. A savoury dish, a delicacy. Comp. note, Epist. i. 15, 44, and 17, 12. Thus Pers. Sat. i. 50: 'Calidum scis *ponere* sumen, Scis comitem horridulum tritâ donare lacernâ,' &c., where *scis* is a kind of comment on *possit* here as *calidum sumen* on *unctum*. Comp. also Sat. vi. 15: 'aut cœnare sine *uncto*.' Gesner and Doëring, however, explain *unctum* as used for *convivam*, (note, Epist. i. 17, 12,) and *ponere* for *collocare*, to place at table on a couch."

that are afflicted from their hearts; so the sham admirer is more moved than he that praises with sincerity. Certain kings are said to ply with frequent bumpers, and by wine make trial of a man whom they are sedulous to know, whether he be worthy of their friendship or not. Thus, if you compose verses, let not the fox's concealed intentions impose upon you.

If you had recited any thing to Quintilius, he would say, "Alter, I pray, this and this:" if you replied, you could do it no better, having made the experiment twice or thrice in vain; he would order you to blot out, and once more apply to the anvil your ill-formed verses: if you choose rather to defend than correct a fault, he spent not a word more nor fruitless labour, but you alone might be fond of yourself and your own works, without a rival. A good and sensible man will censure spiritless verses, he will condemn the rugged, on the incorrect he will draw across a black stroke with his pen; he will lop off ambitious [and redundant] ornaments; he will make him throw light on the parts that are not perspicuous; he will arraign what is expressed ambiguously; he will mark what should be altered; [in short,] he will be an Aristarchus:[59] he will not say, "Why should I give my friend offence about mere trifles?" These trifles will lead into mischiefs of serious consequence, when once made an object of ridicule, and used in a sinister manner.

Like one whom an odious plague or jaundice, fanatic phrensy or lunacy, distresses; those who are wise avoid a mad poet, and are afraid to touch him: the boys jostle him, and the incautious pursue him. If, like a fowler intent upon his game, he should fall into a well or a ditch while he belches out his fustian verses and roams about, though he should cry out for a long time, "Come to my assistance, O my countrymen;" not one would give himself the trouble of taking him up. Were any one to take pains to give him aid, and let down a rope; "How do you know, but he threw himself in hither on purpose?" I shall say: and will relate the death of the Sicilian poet. Empedocles, while he was am-

[59] Aristarchus was a critic, who wrote above four score volumes of comments on the Greek poets. His criticisms on Homer were so much esteemed, that no line was thought genuine until he had acknowledged it. He was surnamed the prophet or diviner, for his sagacity. FRAN.

bitious of being esteemed an immortal god, in cold blood leaped into burning Ætna.[60] Let poets have the privilege and licence to die [as they please]. He who saves a man against his will, does the same with him who kills him [against his will]. Neither is it the first time that he has behaved in this manner; nor, were he to be forced from his purposes, would he now become a man, and lay aside his desire of such a famous death. Neither does it appear sufficiently, why he makes verses: whether he has defiled his father's ashes, or sacrilegiously removed the sad enclosure[61] of the vindictive thunder: it is evident that he is mad, and like a bear that has burst through the gates closing his den, this unmerciful rehearser chases the learned and unlearned. And whomsoever he seizes, he fastens on and assassinates with recitation: a leech that will not quit the skin, till satiated with blood.[62]

[60] *Ardentem frigidus Ætnam insiluit.* "In cold blood, deliberately." Horace, by playing on the words *ardentem frigidus* would show, that he did not believe the story, and told it as one of the traditions, which poets may use without being obliged to vouch the truth of them. The pleasantry continues, when he says, it is murder to hinder a poet from killing himself; a maxim, which could not be said seriously. SAN.

[61] *An triste bidental.* What crime must that man have committed whom the gods in vengeance have possessed with a madness of writing verses? *Bidental* was a place struck with lightning, which the aruspices purified and consecrated with a sacrifice of a sheep, *bidental.* It was an act of sacrilege ever to remove the bounds of it, *movere bidental.* FRAN.

[62] In concluding the annotations on the Art of Poetry, I must beg to recommend to the reader's notice my translation of Aristotle's Poetic, with a collection of notes, published in Bohn's Classical Library; as the two treatises contribute to each other's illustration in the fullest extent.

THE END.

JOHN CHILDS AND SON, BUNGAY.

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